A

CHURCH HISTORY OF *NEW-ENGLAND.*

VOL. II.

Extending from 1690, to 1784.

INCLUDING

A concise View of the AMERICAN WAR, and of the Conduct of the BAPTISTS therein, with the present State of their CHURCHES.

By *ISAAC BACKUS*,
Pastor of a Church in *Middleborough*.

Thou shalt remember all the Way which the Lord thy God led thee these forty Years in the Wilderness, to humble thee, and to prove thee, to know what was in thine Heart, whether thou wouldest keep HIS *Commandments, or no.* Deut. viii. 2.

PROVIDENCE: Printed by JOHN CARTER, and sold by PHILIP FREEMAN, in *Union-Street, Boston.* 1784.

MUSEUM
BRITANNICUM

PREFACE.

THE powers of thinking and choice are ſo eſſential to all rational ſpirits, that without them no idea can be formed of their exiſtence. A deſire of the knowledge and enjoyment of the beſt good, alſo appears eſſential to their nature. Therefore, as finite knowledge is limited, finite ſpirits would ever be liable to err, if they had not ſome ſufficient guard againſt it. And the beſt guard we can conceive of, is a clear fixed perſuaſion in the heart, that God is the only fountain of all good; and that every deſirable good is to be obtained and enjoyed in the way of obedience to his revealed will, and nowhere elſe.

THAT he is the abſolute proprietor, and the ſovereign ruler of the worlds he has made, is a truth too evident for any but madmen to deny. All nations have been forced to appeal to him, to avenge injuſtice and perjury, in order to eſtabliſh any government among themſelves: Yet how far have they been from a willingneſs to be governed entirely by him! *He made man upright; but they have ſought out many inventions.* Objects of worſhip, and forms of worſhip, even without number, have been invented by mankind; the folly whereof God has expoſed in all his diſpenſations: Yet ſelf-conceit, ſelf-ſeeking, and ſelf-dependence, are ſtill the ruining errors of the world.

HIS

HIS deſign in all his diſpenſations, in every age and every country, is undoubtedly the ſame in nature with that declared to Iſrael, in the paſſage which adorns our title page. Three things deſerve particular notice therein. 1. That it is the Lord who leads his people through all the changing ſcenes of life, in this wilderneſs world. At different times and places their circumſtances vary exceedingly; yet he orders or over-rules in all, ſo that a ſparrow cannot fall to the ground, nor an hair from their head, without him. 2. All his dealings are calculated in infinite wiſdom, for their trial and humiliation; to diſcover what is in their hearts, whether they will keep HIS commandments, or not. Therefore, 3. He requires them to *remember* all the way wherein he leads them, for this end.

CHRISTIANITY, the only true religion, has its name from CHRIST, the foundation, lawgiver, and only head of his church. And one of the greateſt hiſtorians of our age gives us the following account of its primitive order and government. Says he, "The rites inſtituted by Chriſt were only two in number, and theſe deſigned to continue to the end of the church here below, without any variation. Theſe were baptiſm and the holy ſupper; which were not to be conſidered as mere ceremonies, nor yet as ſymbolical repreſentations only, but alſo as ordinances, accompanied with ſanctifying influence upon the heart and affections of true Chriſtians." Of thoſe who heard and believed the preaching of John the Baptiſt, he ſays, "They were initiated into the kingdom of the Redeemer, by the ceremony of *immerſion* or *baptiſm*." And during the firſt century, he ſays, "The ſacrament of baptiſm was adminiſtered without the public aſſemblies,

blies, in places appointed and prepared for that purpoſe, and was performed by *immerſion* of the whole body*." This was the primitive way of admiſſion into the Chriſtian church; and of its government our author ſays, "The people were, undoubtedly, the firſt in authority; for the apoſtles ſhewed by their example, that nothing of moment was to be carried on or determined without the conſent of the aſſembly, Acts i. 15, vi. 3, xv. 4, xxi. 22.—A biſhop, during the firſt and ſecond century, was a perſon who had the care of one Chriſtian aſſembly, which, at that time, was, generally ſpeaking, ſmall enough to be contained in a private houſe. In this aſſembly he acted not ſo much with the authority of a *maſter*, as with the zeal and diligence of a faithful *ſervant*." And he aſſures us, that until about the middle of the ſecond century, "The churches were entirely *independent*; none of them ſubject to any foreign juriſdiction, but each one governed by its own rulers, and its own laws." And that an alteration was then made, by induſtriouſly propagating the opinion, that Chriſtian miniſters ſucceeded to the rights and privileges of the Jewiſh prieſthood§. Heathen philoſophy was alſo called in to interpret the ſcriptures by; from whence teachers adopted this maxim, viz. "That it was an act of virtue to *deceive and lie*, when by that means the *intereſts* of the church might be promoted." To which they added, in the fourth century, under Conſtantine, the uſe of *temporal penalties*, and *corporal tortures*, for the ſame end¶.

In the mean time a controverſy aroſe about bringing infants to baptiſm. In the beginning of the

* Moſheim's eccl. hiſt. vol. 1, p. 32, 91, 96. Dublin edition.
§ Ibid. p. 70, 76, 77, 139. ¶ Page 155, 314.

the third century, Tertullian, who is the firſt writer that mentions it, oppoſed it, ſaying, "What need is there that the *god-fathers* ſhould be brought into danger? becauſe they may either fail of their promiſes by death, or they may be miſtaken by a child's proving of a wicked diſpoſition." But not long after Origen appeared for the practice, and ſaid, "Let it be conſidered what is the reaſon, that whereas the baptiſm of the church is given for the forgiveneſs of ſins, infants alſo are, *by the uſage of the church*, baptized.—It is for that reaſon, becauſe by the ſacrament of baptiſm the *pollution of our birth is taken away*, that infants are baptized*." Origen is the firſt man that any have produced, who pleaded for infant baptiſm; and he alſo held that the torments of the damned will have an end; and that Chriſt will be crucified in the next world to ſave the devils†. Now when heathen philoſophy was ſet up as a rule to interpret ſcripture by; when the ſhadows of the old teſtament were taken to draw a veil over the truth, and church order deſcribed in the goſpel, and teachers pretended to confer renewing grace by their adminiſtrations, before the ſubjects were taught or believed; and alſo called in the ſecular arm to enforce their meaſures by temporal penalties and corporal tortures, what could be expected but the Antichriſtian apoſtaſy! Oh, how dark was the night that followed!

YET God did not leave himſelf without witneſſes in the darkeſt times, ſome of whom I will name. Peter de Bruys, during a miniſtry of twenty years, made the moſt laudable attempts to reform abuſes, and to remove the ſuperſtitions that diſfigured the beautiful

* Clark againſt Gill upon baptiſm, p. 105, 111.
† Moſheim, vol. 1, p. 476.

beautiful ſimplicity of the goſpel, and had a great number of followers, in Languedoc and Provence, in France; and he was burnt therefor at St. Giles, in the year 1130. His diſciples were called Petrobuſcians; and a leading article of their faith was, "That no perſons whatever were to be baptized before they came to the full uſe of their reaſon." Soon after another miniſter, whoſe name was Henry, travelled from Switzerland through various parts of France, preaching the goſpel with great ſucceſs, until he came to the city of Thouloufe; where the Pope and his creatures raiſed great oppoſition againſt him, and caſt him into priſon in 1148; and he ended his days there not long after. He was thus dealt with becauſe "He rejected the baptiſm of infants; cenſured with ſeverity the corrupt and licentious manners of the clergy, and treated the feſtivals and ceremonies of the church with the utmoſt contempt*."

THIS account is given by a very learned Lutheran author, who was ſtrongly prejudiced againſt the modern Baptiſts, becauſe he held that the Chriſtian church was in its minority, when it was governed in the manner above deſcribed; and that in its mature age, "The regulation of it was, in ſome meaſure, to be accommodated to the time, and left to the wiſdom and prudence of the chief rulers, both of the ſtate and of the church†;" which opinion the Baptiſts have ever oppoſed. He freely owns, that the peculiarities of their churches in Germany and Holland are derived from a maxim of reformation, which was held by the Waldenſes, Petrobuſcians, Wicklifites, and Huſſites, long before Luther's day; which is, "That the kingdom of Chriſt, or the viſible church he

* Vol. 2, p. 437—439. † Vol. 1, p. 68—70.

he had eſtabliſhed upon earth, was an aſſembly of true and real ſaints, and ought therefore to be inacceſſible to the wicked and unrighteous, and alſo exempt from all thoſe inſtitutions, which human prudence ſuggeſts to oppoſe the progreſs of iniquity, or to correct and reform tranſgreſſors." This maxim he declares to be the ſource of all their peculiarities. In 1525, and in 1533, a few men who were called Anabaptiſts, took the lead among mixed multitudes, that had taken up arms againſt cruel tyrants, in hopes of recovering both civil and religious liberty thereby; but they periſhed in the attempt: A ſight of which carried the Baptiſt churches in that country ſo far into the other extreme, as not to allow their members to be magiſtrates, to uſe the ſword, or to take an oath*; which are now the ſentiments of the German Baptiſts in Pennſylvania. But the Engliſh Baptiſts, both in Europe and America, have carefully avoided each of theſe extremes, for theſe hundred and fifty years; yet thoſe ſcandals in Germany have been conſtantly caſt upon them, even down to this day; not becauſe they ever had the leaſt concern therewith, but becauſe this has been found to be a powerful engine to prejudice the populace againſt allowing equal religious liberty, and for forcing people into religious covenants, before they can chooſe for themſelves.

ALL the reformation that ever took place, in any age or country, was produced by the word of truth, enforced by the ſpirit of truth, upon each heart and conſcience. And the admiſſion of unſanctified communicants into the Chriſtian church, and of the inventions of men to govern it, have cauſed endleſs confuſions; as thereby three oppoſite intereſts have been

* Vol. 3, p. 524, 525, 549.

been ſet up. The intereſt of religious teachers, of civil officers, and of the people. The two former have conſpired together to enſlave the latter; and yet have been far from an entire harmony betwixt themſelves. Their conteſts for preheminence have been long and tedious in this country; but a great and effectual door is now opened for terminating theſe diſputes, and for a return to the primitive purity and liberty of the Chriſtian church. To trace out the evil effects of the apoſtaſy, and to promote, as much as may be, ſuch a return, is the great deſign both of this and the former volume; in the compiling whereof a large number of records, books and papers, have been ſearched, and much pains taken to ſet principles and actions in as clear light as poſſible. And the author is ſo far from deſiring indulgence in any miſtakes, that he earneſtly requeſts the help of all to correct them.

Middleborough, Auguſt 2, 1784.

A general INDEX to both Volumes.

[i. ſignifies the Firſt, and ii. the Second. The Figures refer to the Pages in each.]

A

AMERICA, her war with Britain, ii. p. 287, 414. Reaſons why the Baptiſts joined therein, ii. p. 299, 371.

Anabaptiſts, a name of reproach, i. p. 9, 45, 56, 383. Yet impoſed by law, ii. p. 193. Laws made to baniſh them, i. p. 150, 407.

Andros, a tyrant, i. p. 517, 525.

Antichriſt, how he aroſe, ii. preface, p. 6, book, p. 26, 403. Way now preparing for his fall, ii. p. 404, 406.

Antinomians, i. p. 79, 117, ii. p. 408.

Arians, ii. p. 63.

Arminians, i. p. 33, 463, ii. p. 219, 224, 230, 340, 357.

Aſhfield, cruelly oppreſſed, ii. p. 246.

B

Baptiſm, what it is, ii. preface, p. 4, book, p. 17, 189, 401.

Baptiſts, at Providence, i. p. 105, 248, ii. p. 395. Newport, i. p. 149, 215, 255, 442, 505, ii. p. 109, 397. Swanzey, i. p. 350, 435, ii. p. 43, 69, 384. Boſton, i. p. 335, 380, 398, 404, 414, 480, 507, ii. p. 33, 43, 50, 149, 386. Rehoboth, i. p. 213, 253, ii. p. 116, 121, 385. Weſterly, i. p. 416, 434, ii. p. 175, 400. Martha's Vineyard, i. p. 437, ii. p. 83, 375. New-London, i. p. 473, ii. p. 89, 400. Groton, ii. p. 31, 400. Wallingford, ii. p. 125, 136, 219. In the County of Plymouth, ii. p. 215, 378. Barnſtable,

ſtable, ii. p. 378. Briſtol, ii. p. 384. Suffolk, Eſſex and Middleſex, ii. p. 261, 386. Worceſter and Hampſhire, ii. p. 124, 261, 387. Berkſhire, ii. p. 301, 389. New-Hampſhire, ii. p. 265, 390. Our Eaſtern Coaſts, ii. p. 263, 279, 391. Rhode-Iſland, ii. p. 395. Connecticut, ii. p. 400. Their faith and order, i. p. 143, 208, 222, 255, ii. p. 334, 372. Sufferings therefor, i. p. 214—245, 353—406, 413, 480, 489, 502, ii. p. 68, 88, 191, 239, 246, 279.

Blaxton, i. p. 84.

Bradford, i. p. 41, 74, 214, 338, 534.

C

Chamberlain, his letters, i. p. 476, 485.

Chriſtianity, its nature and influence, ii. preface, p. 4, book, p. 331, 369, 401.

Clarke, a father of Rhode-Iſland Colony, i. p. 88, 105, 268, 274, 440.

Chauncy, of Cambridge, held baptiſm to be immerſion, i. p. 115, 145, 284, 334, ii. p. 17.

Chauncy, of Boſton, againſt the power of godlineſs, ii. p. 132, 152, 229. But is ſelf-condemned, ii. p. 246, 270, 327, 354.

Cleaveland, expelled from college, ii. p. 168. But graduated there afterwards, ii. p. 229.

College, at Cambridge, i. p. 101. New-Haven, ii. p. 92. Providence, ii. p. 236, 301, 419.

Comer, ii. p. 66, 111, 121, 124.

Conſtitution, of government, ii. p. 322, 329.

Cotton, of Boſton, i. p. 46, 57, 77, 99, 103, 157, 239, 246, 472.

Covenants, their nature, ii. p. 416. With death and hell, ii. p. 349. Keeping covenant, ii. p. 21, 417.

Cromwell, his letter, i. p. 302.

D

Declenſions, much lamented, i. p. 387, 391, 405, ii. p. 20, 129.

Devenport

Devenport John, i. p. 335, 388, 399.
Devenport James, ii. p. 134, 144, 156.
Dogs, who are juſtly called ſo, ii. p. 346, 349.
Dominion, many held that it was founded in grace, i. p. 337, 341, ii. p. 235.
Door, opened for a great reformation, ii. p. 235, 352, 404.
Dunſtar, i. p. 116, 282, 320.

E

Eccleſiaſtical, eſtabliſhments by human laws very pernicious, i. p. 49, 62, 66, 71, 99, 185, 190, 249, 309, 319, 372, 483, 501, 537, ii. p. 11, 87, 246, 327, 366.
Edwards, ii. p. 128, 135, 142, 188, 356, 415.
Evil meaſures to others requited, i. p. 299, 517, ii. p. 178—183, 219—222, 305.

F

Finley, perſecuted, ii. p. 155.
Forgery, againſt the Baptiſts, i. p. 410, ii. p. 238.

G

Gill, a learned advocate for believers baptiſm, ii. p. 149, 238.
Gorton, i. p. 118, 141, 192, 299, ii. p. 95.
Government, deſcribed, i. p. 28, 39, 165, 168, 297, 513, ii. p. 157, 325.
Grace, its true nature, ii. p. 230, 361, 370, 394. The name unjuſtly put to the covenant of circumciſion, ii. p. 235, 342. Yet many who do ſo, refuſe to profeſs they have grace, ii. p. 191, 343.

H

Half-way covenant, i. p. 334. This name now diſowned, ii. p. 343.
Hingham, a riot there, ii. p. 381.
Hollis, his donations, ii. p. 33, 64, 83. His letter, death and character, ii. p. 78, 118.
Holmes, his faith, and ſufferings, i. p. 208, 229, 253, 256.

Hutchinſon,

Hutchinſon, baniſhed and ſlain, i. p. 118, 148, 471.
Hutchinſon, Governor, his high claims of power, ii. p. 275, 290, 414.

I

Independence, ii. p. 308.
Independent, church ſo on the State, ii. preface, p. 5, book, p. 157, 404.
Infidelity, greatly promoted by corrupt miniſters, ii. p. 354, 402. Yet directly againſt reaſon, ii. p. 413, 414.
Inventions, of men very pernicious, ii. preface, p. 3, book, p. 413.

J

Jennings, ii. p. 51.
Johnſon, his hiſtory, i. p. 49, 79, 129, 267, 540.

K

Kingdom, of Chriſt not of this world, i. p. 165, 222, ii. p. 157, 325, 352. But an infinite bleſſing thereto, ii. p. 331, 373.
Knollys, i. p. 101, 490, ii. p. 43.

L

Laws, of men ſet above the laws of God, i. p. 79, ii. p. 179. Againſt true liberty, ii. p. 139, 153, 193, 227, 239, 250, 254, 281.
Laud, a great oppreſſor, i. p. 63, ii. p. 283.
Liberty, of conſcience, i. p. 95, 118, 170, 189, 222, 246, 291, 348, 521, ii. p. 48, 157. Of will, ii. p. 356. Conſiſtent with neceſſity, ii. p. 339, 357, 359, 414.

M

Maſſachuſetts, firſt charter, i. p. 59, 487, 517. Second charter, i. appendix, p. 4, ii. p. 7. New conſtitution, ii. p. 322, 329.
Mather Increaſe, his noble teſtimony for purity and liberty, ii. p. 23, 49. Taught it by experience, i. p. 519, 521.
Mather Cotton, not ſelf-conſiſtent, ii. p. 50, 73, 77.

Mayhew,

Maybew, againſt ſovereign grace, ii. p. 219, 227, 338. Yet very angry at being detected, ii. p. 228, 341.

N

Narraganſets, i. p. 73, 91, 122, 192, 280, 299, 306, 338, 348, 419.
Neceſſity, conſiſtent with liberty, ii. p. 339, 357, 359, 414.
New-England, firſt principles thereof, i. p. 2—31, 43, ii. p. 2, 13, 336, 400. Declenſions therefrom, ii. p. 26, 33. Liſt of their rulers, i. p. 526.
Newlights, cauſe of the name, ii. p. 134, 398.

O

Oaths, diſpenſed with, and new ones impoſed, i. p. 61, 62. This evil requited, i. p. 518, 520.
Olney, the ſecond miniſter in Providence, i. p. 92, 112.
Ordination, and diſmiſſion of miniſters, i. p. 20, ii. p. 273, 350, 403.

P

Pepperell, a riot there, ii. p. 323.
Pequots, war with them, i. p. 75, 102, 121, 338.
Philip, his war, i. p. 299, 306, 415.
Pharoah, imitated in New-England, ii. p. 87.
Plymouth, how planted, i. p. 34, 40, ii. p. 240.
Providence, how planted and named, i. p. 71, 89, 94.
Purgatory, held at Boſton, ii. p. 354.

Q

Quakers, arrival at Boſton, i. p. 130, 307. Their ſufferings, i. p. 141, 307, 482. Diſpute with Williams, i. p. 108, 445.

R

Rebellion, reſiſtance to tyranny ſo called, ii. p. 182, 283, 309, 365.
Rebels, diſtinguiſhed from ſubjects, ii. p. 415.
Regeneration, eſſential to Chriſtianity, ii. p. 23, 369, 400, 408.

Religion,

Religion, what it is, ii. p. 132, 157, 326, 352. Cannot be ſupported by force, p. 246, 327, 367, 404.
Rhode-Iſland, their ſeveral forms of government, i. p. 96, 118, 198, 280, 345, 347, 512, 529.
Ridicule, a cruel kind of perſecution, ii. p. 95, 344.
Robbins, perſecuted, ii. p. 136, 178, 223.
Robinſon, an eminent father of New-England, i. p. 2, 35, 51, 493, ii. p. 13, 37, 336, 401.
Rogerenes, i. p. 473, 486, ii. p. 105.
Rulers, the exact limits of their power, ii. p. 157, 371, 401.

S

Schiſmatics, who are ſuch, i. p. 388, ii. p. 50, 164, 225, 348, 405.
Separations, ii. p. 145, 164, 175, 346.
Seventh-day Baptiſts, i. p. 411, 475, 512, ii. p. 398.
Salvation, univerſal, ii. p. 338, 353. Proved to be a falſe opinion, ii. p. 361, 369, 407.
Saybrook, a platform compoſed there, ii. p. 36. Renouncing it, and taking the word of God in its place, eſteemed rebellion, ii. p. 179, 182.
Self, how it blinds mankind, ii. p. 86, 222, 246, 327.
Shakers, a new ſect, ii. p. 410.
Stockbridge, controverſy about their diſcipline, ii. p. 342.
Stoddard, the nature and effects of his doctrine, ii. p. 26, 33, 129, 188.
Synods, four of them, i. p. 83, 190, 333, 387, 483, ii. p. 77.

T

Tares, of the field, i. p. 26, 161, 521, ii. p. 169, 191, 347.
Taxes, for miniſters, impoſed by the church on the world, i. p. 98, 100. Which was tyranny and robbery, i. p. 311, 521. Since by the world on the church, which is ſimony, ii. p. 8, 24. In both caſes partiality was eſtabliſhed by law, ii. p. 10, 154,

154, 208, 241, 242. It was taxing people where they were not repreſented, which meaſure has been awfully requited, ii. p. 11, 285, 305, 366.
Tempt, is to claim God's promiſes, without regard to his precepts, ii. p. 358.
Tennent, a powerful preacher, ii. p. 133, 142.
Truth, how held in unrighteouſneſs, ii. p. 406.
Type, how confounded with antitype, i. p. 389, ii. preface, p. 6, book, p. 368.

V

Vane Henry, i. p. 76, 91, 118, 148, 155, 175, 198, 286, 288, 352.

W

Wallin, his letters, ii. p. 53, 58, 81, 119.
Walton, againſt Clark, ii. p. 113, 123.
Wheelwright, baniſhed, i. p. 81, 157.
Whiteſield, a powerful preacher, ii. p. 130, 170.
Witchcraft, at Salem, ii. p. 5.
Williams, was for keeping church and State diſtinct, i. p. 53. Baniſhed therefor, i. p. 57, 62, 66, 70, 156. Plants Providence, i. p. 71. Requites good for evil, i. p. 75, 88, 155, 193, 339. Forms the firſt Baptiſt church in America, i. p. 106. Goes to England and procures a charter for a free government, with the ſign of an ANCHOR on its public ſeal, i. p. 148, 154, 198, 349. Various pieces of his, i. p. 200, 204, 256, 285, 289, 293, 297, 421, 441, 513. His death and character, i. p. 515, 516. His miſtakes, i. p. 453, ii. p. 94.
Winſlow, a Governor at Plymouth, i. p. 43, 65, 74, 204, 338, 556.
Winthrop, the firſt Governor at Boſton, i. p. 45, 56, 67, 82, 137, 146, 499, 539.
Witneſſes, of the two in Revelations, ii. p. 406.

NOTE, the chapters in the ſecond volume begin in the following pages, viz. p. 1, 20, 44, 68, 93, 109, 127, 144, 160, 184, 200, 217, 231, 246, 265, 282, 299, 322, 338, 355, 375, 395, 416; and the contents of each chapter are at the beginning of it.

A

CHURCH HISTORY

OF

NEW-ENGLAND.

CHAP. I.

1. A firſt Principle of theſe Churches. 2. Of Witchcraft. 3. Unjuſt Attempts to turn it againſt the Baptiſts. 4. Oppreſſive Laws. 5. Effects thereof. 6. Plymouth Proclamation. 7. Their Church Order. 8. Evils of denying it. 9. Firſt Miniſters of Middleborough and Dartmouth. 10. Of Plymton.

1. THE fathers of New-England came much nearer to the apoſtolic order of the church, than moſt other reformers had done. Dr. Cotton Mather publiſhed a ſpecimen thereof in the year 1690. Says he, "A church (as the Greek name

for it allows us to think) is to conſiſt of a people *called out* from the ways of ſin, by the powerful and effectual work of God upon their ſouls. Regeneration is the thing without which a title unto ſacraments is not to be pretended. Real regeneration is the thing which before God renders men capable of claiming ſacraments; and viſible and expreſſed regeneration is that which before men enables us to make ſuch a claim*." From the firſt planting of the country to 1662, none were allowed to come to the ordinance of the ſupper, nor to bring their infants to baptiſm, without ſuch a profeſſion. The ſynod of that year opened a door for the children of church members to bring their infants upon a lower profeſſion; though in the Maſſachuſetts a profeſſion of regeneration was ſtill held to be neceſſary, in order for coming to full communion, or having a vote in the government, either of church or ſtate. This was eſſential to the nature of their plan, of a holy government, in imitation of the church of Iſrael. And for the church to govern the world, for good men to govern bad ones, ſeemed much more rational and ſcriptural, than for the world to govern the church about ſoul-guides, as they have done ſince: Previous to which the country was involved in moſt deplorable circumſtances. Their charter loſt; their ſea-coaſts infeſted with privateers and pirates, and their frontiers with ſavage enemies. An attempt to take Quebec in 1690 was defeated, which enraged the enemy the more againſt them, and alſo involved the country in a heavy debt; to diſcharge which paper money was firſt made here, the effects whereof were very pernicious. Officers and people were greatly

* Companion for communicants, p. 29, 30, 37.

greatly divided in their minds about the cauſes of theſe calamities, and about what was the beſt way to remove them. And in this juncture they were alarmed with an apprehenſion that the powers of hell were let looſe upon them, which amazed and confounded them inexpreſſibly. The ſcene was introduced in the following manner:

II. A VARIETY of books, concerning witchcraft, had been publiſhed in London and Boſton, which were diſperſed in New-England. And near the cloſe of 1691, a young daughter and a neice of Mr. Samuel Parris, miniſter of Salem village (now Danvers) with two other girls in the neighbourhood, made ſuch complaints of diſtreſs, and injuries upon their bodies, that a phyſician pronounced them bewitched. Hereupon an Indian woman, from New-Spain, that lived at the miniſter's houſe, tried ſome experiments to find out the witch, which ſhe pretended to have been uſed to in her own country. This coming to the knowledge of thoſe children, they accuſed her of being the witch; of appearing to them, and pinching, pricking and tormenting of them. Teachers, rulers and people, were ſo much affected with this calamity, as to keep days of faſting and prayer for its removal; firſt at ſaid miniſter's houſe, next in the village, and then through the Colony. Such notice being taken of and pity ſhown to thoſe children, they increaſed their complaints; and others advanced like accuſations, not only againſt the Indian woman, but alſo againſt two other old women in the place, ſo that all the three were committed to priſon on March 1, 1692. And this noiſe increaſed, and ſuch accuſations ſpread, till about an hundred perſons were impriſoned on that account. In the midſt of which diſtreſs, on May 14, Sir William Phips, the Gover-

nor,

nor, arrived at Boſton with their new charter, in company with Dr. Increaſe Mather, who procured it. The Governor and Council were ſo much concerned to purge this growing evil from the land, that they did not wait for the meeting of the legiſlature, to whom the conſtituting of Courts of Juſtice belonged, but conſtituted one themſelves, whereof Lieutenant-Governor Stoughton was Preſident, and by their ſentence one woman was hanged on June 10; and by September 22, they executed ſeven men and thirteen women; after which that Court was diſſolved. And by the time that a Court of Oyer and Terminer was conſtituted according to charter, rulers and miniſters were ſo far convinced that they had acted upon wrong principles, and had alſo admitted the teſtimony of accuſers without ſufficient care and caution, that all the reſt of the accuſed were either acquitted upon trial, or pardoned by authority. A firſt principle that they acted upon in thoſe condemnations was, that God in his providence would not ſuffer the devil to appear to and afflict any in the ſhape of an innocent perſon. And they admitted one accuſer to one inſtance, and another to another, of thoſe ſpectoral appearances, to make up two witneſſes. They alſo who would confeſs themſelves to be witches, were admitted as witneſſes againſt others. And, ſays a gentleman who was a careful obſerver of thoſe tranſactions, "Theſe confeſſors, by their plauſible confeſſions and accuſations of others, begetting credit, have been a great, if not the greateſt engine of Satan to carry on the accuſing and apprehending of others, until this matter came to ſuch a height, that, if it had not been ſtopped, might have brought the beſt Chriſtians in the country under the imputation of that abomination, and have involved all in confuſion

fuſion and blood*." Deplorable indeed was the caſe of New-England at that time; though we are aſſured, by men who have ſearched fully into the matter, that a greater number of perſons were executed for witchcraft in only one county in England, even in the looſe reign of Charles the ſecond, than all that were put to death here; and alſo that theſe executions were under the influence of laws and precedents from thence‡. But this being a new country, it was more taken notice of, and was more ſeverely felt than there.

III. We cannot find that the Baptiſts had any hand in thoſe confuſed and bloody proceedings; yet much pains have been taken to turn the ſame againſt them. A late miniſter of Danvers, the place where thoſe deluſions began, ſays, "It is reported of witches, and thoſe that hold unlawful commerce with evil ſpirits, that in order to their entering into confederacy with them, they are ſolicited to renounce their baptiſm, even though received in infancy; which ſhews, that ſuch a renunciation of baptiſm, which Dr. Gill pleads for and commends, is matter of *great impiety*‖." What Dr. Gill pleaded for, was the renouncing of infant ſprinkling, and the practiſing of believer's baptiſm, according to primitive inſtitution. But how far was that from the witchcraft at Danvers or Salem! The plaineſt inſtances of any mention of baptiſm therein were as follow. In the examination of a woman before authority, July 21, 1692, were theſe queſtions and anſwers, viz. "Q. Goody Lacey! how many years ago ſince they were baptized? A. Three

* A modeſt enquiry into the nature of witchcraft, by John Hale, miniſter of Beverly, 1697, p. 78.

‡ Hale, p. 25, 26, 69. Hutchinſon, vol. 2, p. 16, 22, 69.

‖ Clark againſt Gill, 1752, p. 33.

Three or four years ago, I ſuppoſe. Q. Who baptized them? A. The old ſerpent. Q. How did he do it? A. He *dipped* their heads in the water, ſaying they were his, and that he had power over them. Q. Where was this? A. At Falls River. Q. How many were baptized that day? A. Some of the chief, I think there were ſix baptized. Q. Name them. A. I think they were of the *higher powers*." Alſo Capt. Oſgood's wife, of Andover, was made to confeſs, that ſhe with others had been carried through the air to a certain pond, where the devil *dipped* her face in the water, and made her renounce her former baptiſm. But ſhe, with five others in priſon, gave in a retraction of their confeſſions to the Court, wherein they declared that they were amazed and affrighted out of their reaſon, by ſome gentlemen who told them they knew they were witches, and therefore they aſſented to what was ſuggeſted to them, as the only way they had left to ſave their lives; but when they came to be better compoſed, they profeſſed that they were innocent and ignorant of ſuch things. And fifty-three of their neighbours gave in a written teſtimony to the Court, that they believed this to be an honeſt retraction; one of whom was Dudley Bradſtreet, Eſq; Mr. Parris and other miniſters were very officious in thoſe examinations of perſons accuſed of witchcraft*; and ſixty years after Mr. Clark muſt bring up the ſame, to prove that "Renouncing of his early dedication muſt appear ſuch an inſtance of *impiety*, as to a conſiderate perſon were enough to put a ſtop to his proceedings, how inclinable ſoever he might be to thoſe principles on other accounts‖." Such methods have they taken to frighten people from ſeeing

* Hutchinſon's hiſtory, vol. 2, p. 31, 36, 40—44.
‖ Againſt Gill, p. 33.

ſeeing with their own eyes, and from acting according to their own judgments, in the great concerns of the ſoul and eternity.

IV. The ſecond Maſſachuſetts charter, which was dated October 7, 1691, allowed equal liberty of conſcience to all Chriſtians, except Papiſts. The firſt General Court under it met at Boſton June 9, 1692, to whom Dr. Cotton Mather delivered a ſermon, wherein he ſaid, "The civil Magiſtrate is moſt properly the officer of human ſociety, and a Chriſtian, by nonconformity to this or that impoſed way of worſhip, does not break the terms on which he is to enjoy the benefits of human ſociety." And ten years after he publiſhed this and other paſſages, in his hiſtory of New-England, and ſaid he would thereby ſtop the noiſe about perſecution therein *. But how could that be done? for he ſaid, "The General Aſſembly may, by their acts, give a *diſtinguiſhing* encouragement unto the religion which is the *general profeſſion* of the inhabitants §." That is, may empower ſome to judge for others about worſhip, and to enforce their judgments with the ſword; which is the root of the worſt perſecutions in the world. He knew that ſuch acts as he ſpake of could not take place here without the royal aſſent; yet ſaid he "I am verily perſuaded, that the nearneſs of our dependence on the crown will be found one of our moſt glorious advantages." His reaſon therefor is, its giving them a greater ſecurity in future ſhaking times. But experience has now demonſtrated, that it is better to truſt in the Lord than to put confidence in Princes. He in that ſermon called Cambridge college "A river, the ſtreams whereof made

* Magnalia, b. 7. p. 28, 29.

§ Account of his father's life, p. 141.

made glad the city of God†;" which method of applying thoſe words of divine revelation to human ſchools, is doubtleſs a perverting of them; and is a way which has done much hurt to mankind. Chriſtians are required to withdraw from ſuch as ſuppoſe that gain is godlineſs; yet now a freehold worth forty ſhillings a year, or other eſtate worth fifty pounds (which was ſoon after reduced to forty) gave every inhabitant a right to vote for legiſlators; and an Aſſembly ſo elected, in their ſeſſion at Boſton, October 12, 1692, enacted,—"That the inhabitants of each town within this Province ſhall take due care, from time to time, to be conſtantly provided of an able, learned and orthodox miniſter or miniſters, of good converſation, to diſpenſe the word of God to them; which miniſter or miniſters ſhall be ſuitably encouraged, and ſufficiently ſupported and maintained, by the inhabitants of ſuch town. And all contracts, agreements and orders, heretofore made, or that ſhall hereafter be made, by the inhabitants of any town within this Province, reſpecting their miniſters or ſchool-maſters, as to their ſettlement or maintenance, ſhall remain good and valid, according to the true intent thereof, the whole time for which they were or ſhall be made, in all the particulars thereof, and ſhall accordingly be purſued, put in execution, and fulfilled. And where there is no contract and agreement made in any town, reſpecting the ſupport and maintenance of the miniſtry, or when the ſame happens to be expired, and the inhabitants of ſuch town ſhall neglect to make ſuitable proviſion therein, upon complaint thereof made unto the Quarter Seſſions of the Peace for the county where ſuch town lies, the ſaid Court ſhall, and hereby are

† Said ſermon, p. 57, 66, 87.

are empowered to order a competent allowance unto ſuch miniſter, according to the eſtate and ability of the town, the ſame to be aſſeſſed upon the inhabitants, by warrant from the Court, directed to the Select-Men, who are thereupon to proceed to make and apportion ſuch aſſeſſment in manner as is directed for other public charges, and to cauſe the ſame to be levied by the conſtables of ſuch town, by warrant under the hands of the Select-Men, or of the town-clerk by their order.

"BE it further enacted, that where any town ſhall be deſtitute of a miniſter qualified as aforeſaid, and ſhall ſo continue by the ſpace of ſix months, not having taken due care for the procuring, ſettling and encouragement of ſuch a miniſter, the ſame being made to appear upon complaint unto their Majeſties Juſtices of the General Seſſions of the Peace of the county, the ſaid Court ſhall and hereby are empowered to make an order upon every ſuch defective town, ſpeedily to provide themſelves of ſuch a miniſter as aforeſaid, by the next ſeſſions at the furtheſt; and in caſe ſuch order be not complied with, then the ſaid Court ſhall take effectual care to procure and ſettle a miniſter qualified as aforeſaid, and order the charge thereof, and of ſuch miniſter's maintenance, to be levied on the inhabitants of ſuch town.

"AND it is further enacted, that the reſpective churches, in the ſeveral towns within this Province, ſhall at all times hereafter uſe, exerciſe and enjoy, all their privileges and freedoms reſpecting divine worſhip, church order and diſcipline; and ſhall be encouraged in the peaceable and regular profeſſion and practice thereof.

"AND further it is enacted, that every miniſter, being a perſon of good converſation, able, learned

and orthodox, that ſhall be choſen by the major part of the inhabitants of any town, at a town-meeting duly warned for that purpoſe (notice being given to the inhabitants fifteen days before the time of ſuch meeting) ſhall be the miniſter of ſuch town; and the whole town ſhall be obliged to pay towards his ſettlement and maintenance, each man his ſeveral proportion thereof."

THEY had here entered upon a new and untried ſcene; and the glaring contradiction betwixt the two laſt paragraphs of this law, with their finding that ſome towns had more than one church therein, as alſo that Boſton would not ſubmit to it, cauſed the Aſſembly, in their next ſeſſion of February 8, 1693, to repeal thoſe two paragraphs, and in addition to the reſt of that law to enact, "That each reſpective gathered church, in any town or place within this Province, that at any time ſhall be in want of a miniſter, ſuch church ſhall have power, according to the directions given in the word of God, to chooſe their own miniſter;" yet not to ſettle him without the concurrence of the majority of voters in town affairs, who uſually meet therewith for worſhip; but that being obtained, then "all the inhabitants and rateable eſtates lying within ſuch town, or part of a town, or place, limited by law for upholding the public worſhip of God, ſhall be obliged to pay in proportion towards the miniſter's ſettlement and ſupport. Provided, that nothing herein contained is intended, or ſhall be conſtrued to extend, to *abridge* the inhabitants of Boſton of their accuſtomed way and practice, as to the choice and maintenance of their miniſters."

V. HERE it is to be noted, that like cauſes may ever be expected to produce like effects. One of our

our moſt eſſential rights is not to be taxed where we are not repreſented. And it is moſt certain, that a civil legiſlature are not our religious repreſentatives; and in order then to tax the country to religious teachers, they were *abridged* of the rights which Boſton would not part with. So when Governor Hutchinſon was purſuing the ſcheme, in 1769, of having America taxed by Britain, he ſaid, "there muſt be an *abridgement* of what are called Engliſh liberties." But the bloody effects of that attempt, are a loud warning to all after ages. The Aſſembly went on, in ſaid law, to empower the rateable inhabitants of any town where no church was gathered, to call and ſettle a miniſter, by the advice and direction of three neighbouring ordained miniſters, who ſhould be ſupported as others were; and alſo to enact, that if any town or place neglected to obey theſe laws, their Select-Men, or other officers, ſhould be convented before their county Court, and, upon conviction of ſuch neglect, be fined Forty Shillings for the firſt offence, and Four Pounds for every after conviction. As a fruit of which, a warrant was ſent from Briſtol Court, "requiring the town of Swanzey to chooſe a miniſter according to law." The town met upon it Auguſt 28, and adjourned to October 17, 1693, when they concluded to report to the Court, that Elder Samuel Luther was their miniſter*. He was ordained paſtor of the firſt church there, July 22, 1685, by the aſſiſtance of the Elders Hull and Emblen, of Boſton. And the rulers of Plymouth Colony had publicly owned him in that office; one inſtance whereof take as follows.

"VI. At a Court of Aſſiſtants held at Plymouth, the firſt Tueſday of Auguſt, 1690; it being manifeſt

* Swanzey town records.

manifeſt that the Lord our God calls his poor people in this wilderneſs to great humiliation and mourning, for thoſe awful tokens of his diſpleaſure that are upon us, and our manifold ſins, the procuring cauſe thereof, the Governor and Council do therefore commend it to all the churches of God and people in this Colony, to ſet apart and obſerve the laſt day of this inſtant as a day of ſolemn faſting and prayer, wherein to deprecate thoſe heavy judgments impending, and to intreat the Lord to take away all our iniquities, and receive us graciouſly: Particularly that God would proſper the Agents of the country in their weighty negociation in the other England; that our addreſs may be accepted with our Lord the King, and we may have a ſettled eſtabliſhment of our ancient liberties and privileges, ſacred and civil; that God would call back the commiſſion he hath given to the ſword of the enemy to be drawn among us, and direct and manage all the counſels of his ſervants in this dark and difficult day of war, and give ſucceſs in the deſtruction of our adverſaries, and reſtore peace to us; that contagious and afflictive diſtreſſes may be removed; that the neceſſities of the poor may be ſupplied, and the judgment of ſcarcity and famine prevented; and that God would bleſs the labours of our hands, and give both ſeedtime and harveſt; and that in a way of humiliation and reformation we may be prepared to meet God, and wait for him in the way of his judgments, and that mercy may be the latter end of all his diſpenſations to us.

Per order of the aboveſaid Court,

SAMUEL SPRAGUE, Recorder."

To Mr. Samuel Luther, Elder of the church of Swanzey, for him to communicate to the church and congregation there.

VII.

VII. THIS I carefully copied from the original, preſerved in Elder Luther's family; and Briſtol Court could not be ignorant of his being thus owned as the ſettled miniſter of Swanzey; yet this attempt muſt be made for the other denomination, though they have never been able to ſet up their worſhip in that town to this day. A ſecond Baptiſt church was formed therein, and Mr. Thomas Barnes was ordained paſtor of it in 1693. It may be ſerviceable to enquire into the reaſon of their being ſo much better treated when under Plymouth government, than they were after they were incorporated with the Maſſachuſetts.

PLYMOUTH people were taught in Holland, that the church was the ſchool wherein Chriſt trained up his miniſters; though they were far from deſpiſing human learning in its place. One of their proofs was the 14th chapter of the firſt epiſtle to the Corinthians; upon which their learned paſtor, Mr. Robinſon, made the following remarks. Says he, "That the Apoſtle in this chapter directs the church in the uſe of extraordinary gifts, is moſt evident: Neither will I deny but that the officers are to guide and order this action of *propheſying*, as all other public buſineſs, yea, even theſe wherein the brethren have greateſt liberty: But that he intends the eſtabliſhing of, and ſo takes order, and gives direction for an ordinary conſtant exerciſe in the church, even by men out of office, I do manifeſt by theſe reaſons. (1.) Becauſe the apoſtle ſpeaks of the miniſtration of a gift or grace, common to all perſons, as well brethren as miniſters, ordinary as extraordinary, and that at all times, which is *love*; as alſo of ſuch fruits and effects of that grace, as are no leſs common to all than the grace itſelf, nor of leſs

continu-

continuance in the churches of Chriſt, to wit, of *edification, exhortation and comfort*, ver. 3, compared with 1 Theſ. v. 11, 14. (2.) In ver. 21, he permits *all* to *propheſy*, and ſpeaks as largely of propheſying as of *learning*, and *receiving comfort*. But leſt any ſhould object, may women alſo propheſy? the apoſtle prevents that objection, and it may be reproves that diſorder amongſt the Corinthians, ver. 34, by a flat inhibition, enjoining them expreſly to keep ſilence in the church, in the preſence of men, to whom they ought to be ſubject, and to learn at home of their huſbands, and not by teaching men to uſurp authority over them, 1 Tim. ii. 11, 12, which men in propheſying do lawfully uſe. (3.) Now in that Paul forbids women, he gives liberty to all men, gifted accordingly, oppoſing women to men, ſex to ſex, and not women to officers, which were frivolous. And again, in reſtraining women, he ſhews his meaning to be of ordinary, not extraordinary propheſying; for women immediately and extraordinarily inſpired might ſpeak without reſtraint, Exod. xv. 20, Judg. iv. 4, Luke ii. 36. (4.) The prophets here ſpoken of were not extraordinary, becauſe their doctrines were to be *judged* by other prophets, and their *ſpirits* to be *ſubject* unto the *ſpirits of others*, ver. 29, 32; whereas the doctrines of the extraordinary prophets were neither ſubject to nor to be judged by any; but they, as the Apoſtles, being immediately inſpired, were *the foundation* upon which the church was built, *Jeſus Chriſt himſelf being the chief corner ſtone*, Eph. ii. 20, and iii. 5. (5.) The apoſtle makes a *prophet* and a man *ſpiritual* all one, whom he further deſcribes, not by any extraordinary gift, but by that common Chriſtian grace of ſubmiſſion unto *the things he writes*,

writes, as the commandments of the Lord: Unto whom he oppoſeth a man wilfully *ignorant*, ver. 37, 38, teaching us, that he doth not meaſure a prophet, in this place, either by the office of miniſtry, or by any extraordinary prophetical gift, but by the common Chriſtian gift of ſpiritual diſcerning. (6.) It is the commandment of the Lord by the apoſtle, that a *biſhop muſt be apt to teach*, and that ſuch elders or biſhops be called as are *able to exhort with ſound doctrine, and to convince the gainſayers*. Now except men, before they be in office, may be permitted to manifeſt their gifts, in *doctrine and prayer*, which are the two main works requiring ſpecial qualification in the teaching elders, how ſhall the church (which is to chooſe them) take knowledge of their ſufficiency, that with faith and good conſcience they may call them, and ſubmit unto them for their guides †?"

VIII. Now, as the church of Plymouth had always acted upon theſe principles, it was eaſy for them to look upon Elder Luther as a miniſter of Chriſt, whoſe church was of the ſame mind about that point of goſpel order. But a miniſter of chief note among the Maſſachuſetts ſays, "That cuſtom, of the propheſying of private brethren, was not obſerved in any of the churches of New-England beſides themſelves: The miniſters of the reſpective churches there not being ſo well ſatisfied in the way thereof as Mr. Robinſon was. The moſt judicious and leading elders among ſaid churches, as Mr. Cotton, &c. that were not abſolutely againſt the thing, were yet afraid that the wantonneſs of the preſent age would not well bear ſuch a liberty as that great light of theſe churches expreſſed, to a per-

† Robinſon againſt Bernard, p. 236, 237.

a perſon of great quality, to whom he bore no ſmall reſpect, a few hours before he departed this life‡." But Mr. Robinſon ſays, "It is apparent, both in the ſcriptures and eccleſiaſtical writers, that not only pride and contention, but hereſy, and almoſt all other evils, have ſprung from the officers and governors of the church. And ſurely nothing hath more in former days advanced, nor doth at this day more uphold the throne of Antichriſt, than the people's diſcharging themſelves of the care of public affairs in the church, on the one ſide, and the prieſts and prelates arrogating all to themſelves on the other†."

IX. Two brethren of Plymouth church were ordained paſtors of other churches in 1694. One of them was Mr. Jonathan Donham, who was ordained at Edgarton, on Martha's Vineyard. The other was at Middleborough, fourteen miles weſt of Plymouth. About ſixteen families began to plant here a little before Philip's war; who moved away when the war broke out, and returned again after it was over; and Mr. Samuel Fuller preached to them till a church was conſtituted among them this year, and he was ordained their paſtor. The ſettlement of Dartmouth began about the ſame time with Middleborough, and their firſt teacher was alſo from Plymouth, but not in the ſame way. His name was John Cooke, who was a deacon in Plymouth church for ſome years; but was caſt out of it in the latter part of Mr. Reyner's miniſtry there, who left them in November, 1654. It is ſaid that Cooke was excommunicated for having been the author of much diſſention and diviſion, and for after-

‡ Hubbard.
† Robinſon, p. 204.

afterwards running into ſectarian and Anabaptiſtical principles. And alſo that Reyner's removal was partly occaſioned by the unſettledneſs of the church, "Too many of the members being leavened with prejudices againſt a *learned* miniſtry, by means of *ſectaries* then ſpreading through the land*." Some light concerning them may be gathered from the following facts. Plymouth church took much pains to obtain learned paſtors, if they were otherwiſe well qualified; but they refuſed to be confined to human ſchools for miniſters, or to compel the world to ſupport them. They laboured hard to get the learned Mr. Charles Chauncy to ſettle as a colleague with Mr. Reyner; but Mr. Chauncy could not conſent to it, becauſe goſpel baptiſm appeared to him to be *dipping*, and that ſprinkling for baptiſm was *unlawful*, as their church records witneſs. In 1650 a ſeparation commenced at Rehoboth, becauſe Mr. Newman, their miniſter, with ſix others, aſſumed all the power of church government to themſelves, under the name of "The church repreſentative‡." For this uſurpation a number of the church withdrew, and ſet up worſhip by themſelves; and the miniſters tried hard to move Plymouth Court to ſuppreſs them by force, but could not prevail therein. Theſe people ſoon after became Baptiſts; and one of them was moſt ſhamefully and cruelly perſecuted the next year at Boſton. By ſearching into theſe matters, Mr. Dunſtar, Preſident of Harvard college, was brought openly to renounce infant baptiſm. And ſeeing the temper which was diſcovered in the Maſſachuſſetts, he removed into Plymouth Colony, the

* Plymouth regiſter, p. 4, 12.
‡ Clarke's narrative, p. 24.

very year that Reyner moved out of it; as ſeveral other miniſters alſo did about that time, becauſe they could not bring Plymouth rulers into the uſe of tax and compulſion for their ſupport. (Vol. 1, p. 282—284, 320.) And though Reyner excommunicated Cooke, yet, not being able to bring the church into all his meaſures, he left them, and robbed them of their church-records, which they never recovered; ſo that what records Plymouth church now has, were afterwards collected from memory and private writings. Theſe facts may help the reader in forming a judgment of what Cooke's ſectarian principles were, and alſo how he came by them. His poſterity inform me, that he was a Baptiſt, and that he preached the doctrine of election, with the other doctrines of ſovereign grace, in Dartmouth for a number of years. And it appears by Mr. Samuel Hubbard's letters, that a Baptiſt church was formed upon the weſt borders of Dartmouth, in the year 1685, wherein Hugh Moſier and Aaron Davis were principal leaders; which church is continued by ſucceſſion to this day; though the Quakers are the moſt numerous of any one ſect in that town.

X. On Auguſt 24, 1695, the church of Middleborough was bereaved of their beloved paſtor, æt. 66; "A great loſs to the place, ſaid Mr. Cotton, he being a ſincere godly man, and uſeful preacher." Mr. Iſaac Cuſhman, another member of Plymouth church, was invited to ſucceed him; but having a call at Plymton (betwixt here and Plymouth) at the ſame time, he accepted it; and was ordained there in 1698*; and was continued a great bleſſing to them

* Mr. John Cotton, above referred to, was ſon to the famous miniſter of that name in Boſton. He was miniſter at Plymouth about

them for about forty years. But thirteen miniſters, in and near Boſton, publiſhed a letter of advice to the churches, dated December 28, 1699, in the 8th page of which they repreſent it to be a *jeſuitical principle* for any to hold, "That *illiterate* men may be ſerviceable and admirable preachers." This with other things moved their churches to look only to colleges for miniſters for a long time after. In the mean while, as the empowering the world to controul the church in the choice of paſtors was an untried path to them, it took them three years to find out what to do, when a pariſh did not concur with the church therein. But when the Aſſembly met at Boſton, May 29, 1695, they enacted, that in ſuch a caſe the church ſhould call a council of three or five neighbouring churches, who ſhould decide the controverſy thus: If the council approved of the perſon elected, the pariſh muſt ſubmit and ſupport him; if not, then the church muſt give up their choice, and call another miniſter, and in this method they have proceeded ever ſince. And it may be ſerviceable to hear the judgment of a number of their moſt eminent men, about the ſtate of religion in New-England in thoſe times.

about 30 years, till contentions about the above points of church order occaſioned his diſmiſſion, by advice of a council in 1697, and the next year he went and gathered a Congregational church in Charleſtown, South-Carolina, where he died much lamented September 18, 1699. *Plymouth regiſter*, p. 21, 22.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

1. Declenſions deſcribed and lamented, by Mr. Prince. 2. Willard and Torrey. 3. Mitchel. 4. Mather. 5. Willard. 6. Stoddard's Errors. 7. Epiſcopal Society incorporated. 8. Arbitrary Laws and Propoſals. 9. Quakers Attempts againſt them. 10. Some Revival, and ſome Baptiſt Letters. 11. Other Churches corrupted. 12. And enſlaved. 13. Oppoſition thereto at Norwich. 14. A few Things concerning the Baptiſts.

1. THE learned and pious Mr. Thomas Prince ſays, "The ſecond generation riſing and growing thick on the ſtage, a little after 1660, there began to appear a *decay*; and this increaſed to 1670, when it grew viſible and threatening, and was generally complained of and bewailed bitterly by the pious among them; and yet much more to 1680, when but few of the firſt generation remained." One of his proofs hereof is what Mr. William Stoughton delivered in an election ſermon at Boſton, April 29, 1668; when he ſaid, "The death and removal of the Lord's eminent ſervants, in one rank and in another, hath manifeſted the *lie* in many of us. Whilſt they lived, their piety and

and zeal, their light and life, their counſels and authority, their examples and awe, kept us right, and drew us on in the ways of God, to profeſs and practiſe the beſt things. But now they are gone, ah! how doth the unſoundneſs, the rottenneſs and hypocriſy of too many among us make itſelf known, as it was with Joaſh after the death of Jehoiada ‖!" Other of his proofs are in vol. 1. p. 405, 406.

II. In 1680 Mr. Willard ſaid, "Be ſure, when the glory of God and the ſpiritual good of your brother requires it, that you carry on your reproofs to conviction. There are ſome things that ariſe only from ſudden paſſion, and there a tranſient rebuke may be enough; Other things may be deliberate, and men are led into them more gradually; they may alſo be eminently reproachful to religion, and a dangerous ſnare to the ſouls of them that are tempted; our connivance in ſuch caſes may not only blemiſh our profeſſion, but be a great hazard to it alſo. At ſuch times, and in ſuch caſe, you *break your covenant* if you ſuffer ſin in your brother, without uſing all the means which Chriſt hath preſcribed, and in the order he hath preſcribed them, till the end be obtained. If private admonition followed with gentleneſs and patience will not gain, but they ſtill perſiſt in evil courſes, or are not humbled for ſuch faults, you muſt proceed by ſteps as far as Chriſt has bid you. And I believe there is no one thing wherein the covenant is more univerſally broken, than in neglect of this duty; and if the uſe of theſe ordinances ſhall once come to ceaſe among the churches, and the ſins of church members be not regularly ſuppreſſed,

‖ Chriſtian hiſt. vol. 1. p. 94, 95. In 1671 Mr. Stoughton was elected into the Council, and he died there Lieut. Gov. in 1702.

preſſed, by reaſon of the unfaithfulneſs of brethren, religion will languiſh, and the power of godlineſs fail. "It is not the extending of the covenant to Chriſtians (as ſome dream) but the neglect of covenant duties towards them, that is like to be the bane of our profeſſion, if any thing. Eli indulged his ſons, and one profeſſor indulgeth another; and it is to be feared, that if this were ſearched to the bottom, it would be found that the original of it is ſelf-indulgence, and that when men wink at ſcandals in their brethren, it is becauſe they expect the like in way of retaliation: And if things once come to this paſs, let any ſober and prudent man conjecture whether this be not the way to *cheriſh apoſtaſy*." Dr. Increaſe Mather, in the preface, gave a ſpecial recommendation of this paſſage*. Three years after another of their fathers, who was miniſter at Weymouth, delivered a ſermon before their Legiſlature, which he called, *A plea for the life of dying religion*; wherein he ſaid, "There is already a great death upon religion, little more left than a name to live.—Conſider we then how much it is dying reſpecting the BEING of it, by the general failure of the work of CONVERSION; whereby ONLY it is that religion is propagated, continued, and upheld in being among any people. As converting work doth ceaſe, ſo doth religion die away; though more inſenſibly, yet moſt irrecoverably.—How much is it dying, reſpecting the viſible profeſſion and practice of it, partly by the formalty of churches, but more by the hypocriſy and apoſtaſy of formal hypocritical profeſſors§?"

III.

* Willard on covenant keeping, p. 110, 111.

§ Torrey's election ſermon at Boſton, May 16, 1683, p. 11.

III. The life of Mr. Jonathan Mitchel was publiſhed in 1697; and Dr. Increaſe Mather dedicated this work, which his ſon had compiled, to the church and college at Cambridge; to whom he ſaid, "Dr. Owen has evinced, that the letting go this principle, that particular churches ought to conſiſt of REGENERATE PERSONS, brought in the GREAT APOSTASY of the Chriſtian church. The way to prevent the like apoſtaſy in theſe churches, is to require an account of thoſe that offer themſelves to communion therein, concerning the *work of God on their ſouls*, as well as concerning their knowledge and belief.—Mr. Mitchel ſays, the over-enlarging of full communion, or admiſſion of perſons thereto, upon ſlight qualifications, without inſiſting upon the practical and ſpiritual part of religion, will not only loſe the power of godlineſs, but in a little time bring in profaneneſs, and ruin the churches, theſe two ways. 1. Election of miniſters will ſoon be carried by a formal looſer ſort. 2. The exerciſe of diſcipline will by this means be rendered impoſſible. Diſcipline falling, profaneneſs riſeth like a flood; for the major part wanting zeal againſt ſin, will foſter licentiouſneſs. It is not ſetting down good rules and directions, that will ſalve it; for the ſpecification of government is from men, not from laws. Let never ſo good a form of government be agreed upon, it will ſoon degenerate, if the inſtruments that manage it be not good §." When Mr. Mitchel wrote this, about 1664, he had no idea of paſtors being elected in New-England by any others but communicants; and gives theſe weighty reaſons againſt admitting ſuch upon ſlight qualifications, which Dr. Mather, then Preſident of the college, endeavoured to enforce.

IV.

§ Said dedication, p. 16, 17.

IV. In the year 1700 Mather publiſhed another book, which he dedicated to the churches of Chriſt in New-England; to whom he ſaid, "The Congregational church diſcipline is not ſuited for a worldly intereſt, or a formal generation of profeſſors. It will ſtand or fall as godlineſs, in the power of it, does prevail, or otherwiſe: That there is a great decay of the power of religion throughout all New-England is lamentably true; if that revive, there will be no fear of departing from the holy diſcipline of the churches of Chriſt.—If the begun apoſtaſy ſhould proceed as faſt, the next thirty years, as it has done theſe laſt, ſurely it will come to that in New-England (except the goſpel itſelf depart with the order of it) that the moſt conſcientious people therein will think themſelves concerned to gather churches out of churches." He goes on to caution and warn them againſt many evils; one of which is a dull formality in relations of experiences, in order for admiſſion to communion. And he then ſays, "There are reports, as if in ſome churches perſons have brought *written* relations, firſt to the miniſter and then to the church, which were not of their own dictating, but deviſed by others for them. I hope theſe reports have nothing of truth in them; but if they have, I am ſure that ſuch *liars to the Holy Ghoſt* have exceedingly provoked the Lord." Another evil which he warns the churches againſt, is admitting any but communicants to vote for paſtors; and he cites Acts i. 26, vi. 2—5, xiv. 23, to prove that God has plainly given this privilege "To the brethren of particular churches;" and declares it to be "*Simonical* to affirm, that this ſacred privilege may be *purchaſed with money**." This teſti-

* Vindication of the order of the goſpel in New-England, p. 11, 12, 38, 67, 68.

teſtimony was then given by one of the moſt eminent miniſters in the land, who had been Preſident of Harvard college about twenty years; but by unfair means he was removed from that office the next year*.

V. MR. Willard alſo publiſhed a diſcourſe in the year 1700, intituled, *The perils of the times diſplayed*; in which he ſaid, "That there is a form of godlineſs among us is manifeſt; but the great enquiry is, whether there be not too much of a general denying of the power of it: Whence elſe is it, that there be ſuch things as theſe that follow to be obſerved? that there is ſuch a prevalency of ſo many immoralities among profeſſors? that there is ſo little ſucceſs of the goſpel? how few thorough converſions to be obſerved, how ſcarce and ſeldom?—It hath been a frequent obſervation, that if one generation begins to decline, the next that follows uſually grows worſe, and ſo on, until God pours out his ſpirit again upon them. The decays which we already languiſh under are ſad; and what tokens are on our children, that it is like to be better hereafter? God be thanked that there are ſome among them that promiſe well; but alas, how doth vanity abound among them! How do young profeſſors grow weary of the ſtrict profeſſion of their fathers, and become diſputants for the things which their progenitors forſook a pleaſant land for the avoidance of?" And forty years after Mr. Prince ſaid, "We have been generally growing worſe and worſe ever ſince†."

VI. THE greateſt evils that our fathers came here to avoid, were the mixture of worthy and unworthy communicants in the churches, and the tyranny of

* His life, p. 173.
† Chriſtian hiſtory, vol. 1. p. 100, 101, 108.

ſecular and miniſterial Courts over them; but theſe evils were now coming in like a flood upon New-England. A church was formed in Brattle-ſtreet, Boſton, in 1699, with a profeſſed deſign of not requiring ſuch a ſtrict profeſſion of communicants as their fathers did. And Dr. Coleman, their miniſter, was judged to have the chief hand in publiſhing an anonymous anſwer to Preſident Mather's vindication of their former order. And a diſcourſe was printed in London, in 1700, wrote by Mr. Solomon Stoddard, of Northampton, wherein he blends the Jewiſh and Chriſtian diſpenſations together, in ſuch a manner as to hold, that as all who were circumciſed were obliged to keep the paſſover, ſo that all who were baptized ought to come to the Lord's ſupper, yea, "Though they know themſelves to be in a *natural condition*." And by confounding the work of Jewiſh and Chriſtian officers together, he aſſerted that the power of admitting, cenſuring, and reſtoring of members, is wholly inveſted in the elders, ſo that "The brethren of the church are not to intermeddle with it." When any of them, though they were unjuſtly dealt with, they might appeal to a claſſical, provincial and national judicature. And ſays he, "A national ſynod is the higheſt eccleſiaſtical authority upon earth.—Every man muſt ſtand to the judgment of the national ſynod, Deut. xvii. 12‡."

These are the words of a miniſter of great note in New-England, whoſe doctrine has had an extenſive ſpread therein ever ſince. Yet theſe are ſome of the main principles that formerly brought on the Antichriſtian apoſtaſy; and no text in the bible could be more aptly turned to favour their bloody perſecutions, than the one here brought to prove his

‡ Stoddard on inſtituted churches, p. 12, 21, 29, 33.

his laſt point. For it ſays, *The man that will do preſumptuouſly, and will not hearken unto the prieſt, or unto the judge, even that man ſhall die.* The prieſt was to explain God's law, and the judge was to carry the ſame into execution. This is the very paſſage that the miniſters brought in 1668, to prove that the Baptiſts in Boſton ought to be baniſhed (vol. 1. p. 385.) But Dr. Owen, in his piece upon toleration in 1648, truly obſerved, that as God was the head and lawgiver of that nation, idolatry, blaſphemy, or ſeducing of others from his worſhip, were capital crimes; and that applying of thoſe laws to caſes of worſhip or diſcipline in other nations, with the infliction of any other puniſhment than death, was nothing but *arbitrary* proceedings. To which I may add, that Jeſus Chriſt, and ſouls who are *born again*, are all the prieſts that are named in the new teſtament, 1 Pet. i. 23, ii. 5, and the name is never applied therein to officers, in diſtinction from other ſaints. Men who have tried to take the power of church government out of the hands of the ſaints, in particular churches, have never been able to fix any rational bounds to it elſewhere. A ſynod of each nation is the bounds that Mr. Stoddard propoſed in this piece, but would exclude the Engliſh biſhops therefrom, becauſe they are not choſen by the church, but the State †; but they were for other meaſures.

VII. When his book was publiſhed in London, a ſmall Epiſcopal ſociety in Boſton was the only one of that denomination in all New-England. But on June 16, 1701, a charter was procured, to incorporate a ſociety to propagate (what they called) the goſpel in foreign parts. And they ſent over miſſionaries, and got their matters in ſuch forwardneſs, in

† Ibid. p. 30.

in about twelve years, as to obtain an order from the Crown to bring a bill into Parliament, to eſtabliſh Epiſcopacy in America; and its ſpeedy accompliſhment was expected, when Divine Providence prevented it by the ſudden death of Queen Anne, Auguſt 1, 1714. And the two ſucceeding Princes did not ſee cauſe to revive that ſcheme*. In 1701 the two eldeſt miniſters in this Province publiſhed their teſtimony for the ancient order of theſe churches, and againſt growing declenſions and corruptions; namely, Mr. John Higginſon, of Salem, aged 85, and Mr. William Hubbard †, of Ipſwich, aged 80, wherein they give their particular approbation of Preſident Mather's vindication of that order‡. In 1702 Mather publiſhed another book, intituled, *The glory departing from New-England*; wherein he ſays, "Alas! what a change is there in that which hath been our glory! What a glorious preſence of Chriſt was there in all his ordinances! Many were *converted*, and willingly *declared* what God had done for their ſouls; and there were added to the churches daily ſuch as ſhould be ſaved. —There is ſad cauſe to fear, that greater departures of the glory are haſtening upon us: Neither our civil nor eccleſiaſtical ſtate is ever like to be what it once was¶."

VIII. The Maſſachuſetts Legiſlature, who met October 15, 1702, made a long preamble about ſome irreligious towns, that refuſed or neglected to receive and ſupport orthodox miniſters; upon which they added another law to empower the County Courts, after fining ſuch aſſeſſors as did not

* Chandler's appeal, 1767, p. 50—54.
† The hiſtorian ſo often quoted.
‡ See Wiſe's works, p. 68—74.
¶ Chriſtian hiſtory, vol. 1, p. 102, 103.

not fulfil their orders, to appoint others to do it, and then to procure a warrant from two Juſtices of the Quorum, requiring the conſtables of delinquent towns or diſtricts to collect ſuch taxes, upon the ſame penalty as for other taxes: And the fines impoſed upon delinquent officers were to go to pay theſe new aſſeſſors for their ſervice; and the miniſters, who were thus ſupported, were then contriving to get a claſſical judicature eſtabliſhed over the churches. They drew up propoſals for aſſociations to be formed in each county, who ſhould have the power of licencing candidates for the miniſtry, and of directing particular ſocieties, in the call and ſettlement of miniſters; to which was to be added a ſtanding Council, whoſe ſentence ſhould be final and deciſive, but not without the concurrence of the majority of the paſtors preſent. A number of miniſters ſigned theſe propoſals November 5, 1705, an hundred years to a day after the gunpowder plot was to have blown up the Parliament in Weſtminſter. They were ſent round for others to ſign, in order to their being preſented to the Legiſlature. But Mr. John Wiſe had been ſo well taught, by the briers and thorns of tyranny (vol. 1, p. 518) that, inſtead of ſigning them, he wrote a ſharp anſwer to them; and though he was forced to ſend into another Colony to get it printed, yet their deſign was defeated thereby. The ancient church of Plymouth changed their way of receiving members, from verbal to written relations, in this month of November, 1705*.

IX. DARTMOUTH and Tiverton, where the Quakers were the majority, were put to trouble, from time to time, becauſe they did not receive and

* Plymouth regiſter, p. 31.

and ſupport ſuch miniſters as others called orthodox; and they alſo met with ill treatment elſewhere. An old law was in force in Connecticut, intituled, HERETICS, which forbid any town or perſon to entertain any Quaker, upon penalty of Five Pounds a week, and required that they ſhould be impriſoned and ſent out of the Colony: That none ſhould hold unneceſſary diſcourſe with them, upon penalty of Twenty Shillings: That none, except rulers and miniſters, ſhould keep any Quaker books, upon penalty of Ten Shillings, and that all ſuch books ſhould be ſuppreſſed; and that no maſter of any veſſel ſhould land any Quakers, without carrying them away again, under the penalty of Twenty Pounds. And though this law was not rigorouſly executed, yet it was not repealed; therefore their friends in London made application, in 1704, to the Preſbyterian, Congregational, and Baptiſt miniſters there, deſiring that as they would ſhew themſelves friends to equal liberty, they would uſe their influence in their favour, and apply to the Queen for a repeal of ſaid law. This was thought not to be ſo agreeable, as to try for a reformation in New-England; and therefore ſaid miniſters in London wrote, to ſome miniſters of influence here, a letter to be communicated to others, wherein they ſaid, "We cannot but judge it diſagreeable with the ſpirit and principles of the goſpel, and an encroachment upon the DIVINE PREROGATIVE and the undoubted rights of mankind, to puniſh any for their conſcientious and peaceable diſſent from the eſtabliſhed way of religion, while they are not juſtly chargeable with any immorality, or what is plainly deſtructive of civil ſociety*." But as that law

* Calamy's abridgement, p. 671.

law was not repealed here, the Queen and Council repealed it October 11, 1705; a copy of which act was publiſhed by John Rogers, of New-London, ſoon after; and the ſame is in a late hiſtory*.

X. In the beginning of the year 1705, ſuch a revival of religion was granted in Taunton, in the county of Briſtol, as turned the minds of the people there in general from vain companies, and many immoralities, to an earneſt attention to religious worſhip and converſation§. Some things of like nature appeared in Boſton, and in ſeveral other places. About the ſame time Elder Valentine Wightman, from North-Kingſtown, went and ſettled at Groton, ſeven miles north of New-London, where he became paſtor of the firſt Baptiſt church in Connecticut. For ſome years they were oppreſſed by the ruling party; but in his latter days they enjoyed liberty, and alſo much of a divine bleſſing. He miniſtered there to good purpoſe for more than forty years, and died June 9, 1747, as his ſon who ſucceeds him informs me. Their brethren at Boſton, being deſtitute of a paſtor, wrote again to England for help, from whence a number of miniſters ſent them the following anſwer.

"*To the church of Chriſt, baptized on profeſſion of their faith, in Boſton, New-England.*

"*Dear Brethren,*

"*London, March* 17, 1706-7.

"WE are heartily concerned for you, ſince we have heard of your being deſtitute of a paſtor; and are ſo much the more troubled, becauſe we cannot think of a miniſter, who is at liberty, proper for you. We are glad to hear that you find ſo much

* Douglaſs, vol. 2, p. 340.

§ Chriſtian hiſtory, vol. 2, p. 108—112.

much kindneſs among the miniſters of another denomination, that they are willing to aſſiſt you, and ſhould more rejoice to hear you had a miniſter well qualified of your own perſuaſion; but at preſent we can ſerve you no otherwiſe than to pray for you that you may have an agreeable ſettlement: That you may increaſe both in knowledge and grace, and may adorn the doctrine of our God and Saviour, by a holy converſation. So pray, dear brethren, your brethren and ſervants in the goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt,

Nathaniel Wyles, *Richard Adams,*
Richard Parkes, *John Piggott,*
Joſeph Stennett, *Benjamin Stinton,*
Nathaniel Hodges, *Richard Allen.*"
Joſeph Maſters,

The Baptiſt church which was formed at Kittery in 1682 (vol. 1, p. 505) returned again to their connexion with the church at Boſton, and Mr. Drown moved there, whoſe ſon Shem was long ſerviceable in the office of Deacon among them. Elder Screven went to South-Carolina, to whom the church at Boſton now wrote; and on June 2, 1709, he returned an anſwer, wherein he ſaid, "Dearly beloved, this may inform you, that I have many thoughts of heart about you, and am much concerned for you; and hope I may ſay, my prayers are to God for you, though I am not with you; nor can I come as I was inclined to do, our help being taken from us; for our miniſter who came from England is dead, and I can by no means be ſpared. I muſt ſay it is a great loſs, and to me a great diſappointment, but the will of the Lord is done. I have longed to hear that you was ſupplied with an able miniſter, who might break the bread of life among you; but if the Lord do not pleaſe to ſupply

ply you in the way you expected, your way will be to improve the gifts you have in the church. Brother Callender and Joſeph Ruſſell I know have gifts that may tend to edification, if improved: I think you ſhould call one or both of them to it." They did ſo to Mr. Callender, as appears by a letter from Charleſtown, South-Carolina, to him, of Auguſt 6, 1708, which mentions it; and the letter cloſes thus: "I have been brought very low by ſickneſs; but I bleſs God I was helped to preach and adminiſter the communion laſt Lord's day, but am ſtill weak. Our ſociety are for the moſt part in health, and I hope thriving in grace. We are about ninety in all. I reſt your affectionate brother and fellow-labourer, in the beſt of ſervices, for the beſt reward,

WILLIAM SCREVEN."

XI. WE muſt now conſider how error had a further ſpread in this country. Mr. Stoddard publiſhed a ſermon from Exod. xii. 47, 48, wherein he ſays, "A miniſter who knows himſelf unregenerate, may nevertheleſs lawfully adminiſter baptiſm and the Lord's ſupper. Men who are deſtitute of ſaving grace may preach the goſpel, and therefore adminiſter and ſo partake of the Lord's ſupper." Preſident Mather anſwered him in 1708, when he ſaid of this paſſage, "I am miſtaken if in this logic there is not ſophiſtry." But the miſery of both of them was, an entanglement in an inconſiſtent ſcheme. The advocates for the half-way covenant in 1662 ſaid, we know of no ſtronger argument for infant baptiſm than this, that church members are to be baptized (vol. 1, p. 335) and now Stoddard ſays, "The ſacrament is a converting ordinance to church members only, and not for other men. The children of God's people ſhould be baptized, which are generally at

that time in a *natural condition.*" Upon which his opponent ſays, "We are to judge as charitably of the child as we do of the parent: We baptize them as being diſciples and believers, and viſibly belonging to the kingdom of heaven: Dr. Goodwin ſays, the infants of believers are the *pureſt part of the church**."

How imperfect is human knowledge! Stoddard publiſhed a reply in 1709, wherein all his arguments turn upon theſe points, viz. "That if unſanctified perſons might lawfully come to the paſſover, then ſuch may lawfully come to the Lord's ſupper;—and they who convey to their children a right to baptiſm, have a right themſelves to the Lord's ſupper, provided they carry inoffenſively†." He could plainly ſee that there was no half way in the Jewiſh church; and his opponent could ſee as plainly, that fruits meet for repentance were required in order for baptiſm, even of ſuch as were in the covenant of circumciſion. But as tradition had taught them both to build the Chriſtian church upon that covenant, neither of them could act conſiſtently thereon; though they were two of the moſt eminent miniſters then in New-England. Moſt of their ſucceſſors have held faſt their errors, but not their virtues. And as theſe things ſhew how the churches were corrupted, ſo what follows diſcovers how they were enſlaved.

XII. The third Governor Winthrop died Nov. 27, 1707, upon which a ſpecial meeting of the Aſſembly of Connecticut was called on December 17, to chooſe them another Governor. By a law then in force, he was to be elected out of a certain number

* Said ſermon, p. 13, 27. Mather's anſwer, p. 67, 68.
† Appeal to the learned, p. 50, 89.

number of men in previous nomination; but they broke over thoſe limits, and elected an ordained miniſter of New-London for their Governor; who, when they ſent an account of it to him, readily quitted the ſolemn charge of ſouls, for worldly promotion, and was ſworn into his new office Jan. 1, 1708; after which they repealed the law that they had before broken, and enacted that for the future the Governor might be choſen out of any of the freemen. Mr. Gurdon Saltonſtall, ſon to a Maſſachuſetts magiſtrate, and a graduate of Harvard college, was the Governor thus choſen, and by annual elections he was continued in that office for ſixteen years. He was a great politician, and he exerted all his influence to raiſe miniſterial power as high as poſſible. He took the propoſals of 1705, and preſented them to their Legiſlature, where its unſcriptural form was ſoon taken notice of; for there was not a text of ſcripture in the whole ſcheme. Perceiving that it could not be received ſo, it was withdrawn without much noiſe, and the following method was taken to carry his point; an act was paſſed by the Aſſembly that met at Hartford, May 13, 1708, which ſays, "This Aſſembly, from their own obſervation, and from the complaint of others, being made ſenſible of the defects of the diſcipline of the churches of this government, ariſing from the want of a more explicit aſſerting the rules given for that end in the holy ſcriptures, from which would ariſe a firm eſtabliſhment amongſt ourſelves, a good and regular iſſue in caſes ſubject to eccleſiaſtical diſcipline, glory to Chriſt our head, and edification to his members*, hath ſeen fit to ordain

* Church and State are here *confounded* together; as if a being members of the civil community, made men members of Chriſt, and he their head.

ordain and require, and it is by authority of the ſame ordained and required, that the miniſters of the churches, in the ſeveral counties of this government, ſhall meet together at their reſpective county towns, with ſuch meſſengers as the churches to which they belong ſhall ſee cauſe to ſend with them, on the laſt Monday in June next, there to conſider and agree upon thoſe methods and rules for the management of eccleſiaſtical diſcipline, which by them ſhall be judged agreeable and conformable to the word of God; and ſhall at the ſame meeting appoint two or more of their number to be their delegates, who ſhall all meet together at Saybrook at the next commencement to be held there, where they ſhall compare the reſults of the miniſters of the ſeveral counties, and out of and from them to draw a form of eccleſiaſtical diſcipline," which ſhould be preſented to the Aſſembly for their acceptance, and the expence of thoſe meetings was to be borne out of the Colony treaſury. This order was obeyed; and the miniſters who met at Saybrook, September 9, 1708, adopted the confeſſion of faith that was compoſed at the Savoy in London, 1658, and the heads of agreement entered into between Preſbyterians and Independents in London, 1690, and then added fifteen articles concerning church diſcipline, which were the propoſals of 1705 new modeled, with ſcripture references annexed to each article: Though a gentleman of that day obſerved, that the text which ſpeaks of Balaam's ſaddling his aſs would have been as much to the purpoſe as many they brought. Their ſecond article, which contains a ſummary of the whole ſcheme, is in theſe words, viz.

"THAT the churches, which are neighbouring each to other, ſhall conſociate for mutual affording

ing to each other ſuch aſſiſtance as may be requiſite, upon ALL OCCASIONS ECCLESIASTICAL: And that the particular paſtors and churches, within the reſpective counties in this government, ſhall be one conſociation (or more if they ſhall judge meet) for the end aforeſaid, Pſalm cxxii. 3—5, cxxxiii. 1, Eccl. iv. 9—12, Acts xv. 2, 6, 22, 23, 1 Tim. iv. 14, 1 Cor. xvi. 1."

THE firſt of theſe texts ſpeaks of Princes on their thrones, and not of church officers. And when we come to the antetype of Aaron and David's line, we find none therein but Jeſus Chriſt, and regenerate ſouls. Officers, as diſtinguiſhed from other ſaints in the Chriſtian church, are never called prieſts nor Kings in the new teſtament. And ſaid an eminent father of New-England, "The order of officers in the church is an order of *ſervants*, and the order of ſaints an order of *Kings* (which is the higheſt order in the church) *ſitting upon the thrones of David for judgment*, whom the miniſters are to ſerve, in guiding and going before them in, and miniſtring of their judgments*." Their ſecond proof refers to the *unity of brethren* under our great High Prieſt, who moſt explicitly excludes all ſtriving about who ſhall be the greateſt from his kingdom. Neither is the third text any more to their purpoſe. The fourth gives an account of the meeting of one church, at the requeſt of another two hundred miles off, upon a ſpecial occaſion, and not of the meeting of neighbouring churches upon all occaſions eccleſiaſtical. The two laſt treat of gifts received by *prophecy*, and of *orders* given to the churches by apoſtolic authority; and until ordinary miniſters can prove that they, as ſuch, are Princes on

* Robinſon againſt Bernard, p. 227.

on their thrones, and are endowed with apoſtolic authority over the churches, we may ſafely conclude, that the above application of ſcriptures was a perverting of them from their genuine meaning and deſign. Yet thereby two kinds of judicatures were ſet up over the churches. The one called conſociations, conſiſting of miniſters meeting in their own perſons, and churches by their meſſengers, whereof each church may ſend one or two, though the want of them is not to invalidate the acts of any Council; but none of their acts are eſteemed valid without the concurrence of the majority of the paſtors preſent. They are the ſtanding council within each circuit upon all occaſions eccleſiaſtical, though in caſes of ſpecial difficulty they may call the next conſociation to ſit and act with them. They are to have a new choice of meſſengers and moderators once a year, if not oftener, and the laſt moderator is to call a new meeting when it is judged proper. Their ſentence is to be final and deciſive. Their other judicatures are called aſſociations, which are meetings of miniſters by themſelves in each circuit, as often as they think proper, to hear and anſwer queſtions of importance, to examine and licence candidates for the miniſtry, to receive complaints from individuals or ſocieties, and to direct to the calling of the Council to try the ſame, when they judge proper; to direct deſtitute churches in calling and ſettling of paſtors, and to make complaint to their Legiſlature againſt ſuch as they judge to be negligent of their duty in that reſpect. And each aſſociation ſends a delegate or two to a general aſſociation once a year, from all parts of that government.

THIS ſcheme was not introduced without glaring deceit: For their fourth article ſays, "That according

ing

ing to the *common practice* of our churches, nothing ſhall be deemed an act or judgment of any Council, which hath not the major part of the elders preſent concurring, and ſuch a number of the meſſengers preſent, as makes the majority of the Council." Whereas this practice was ſo far from being *common*, that it was an innovation then made, directly ſubverſive of the fundamental principles of the New-England churches; as we are aſſured by Mr. Wiſe, Dr. Mather, and others. No man knew better what thoſe principles were than Mr. Thomas Hooker, the firſt miniſter of Hartford; and he is full in it, that though it is expedient on ſpecial occaſions to call councils or ſynods, yet that elders act therein as commiſſioners ſent, and not as paſtors; and that other meſſengers ſent have equal power with them*. Says he, "*God hath ſet officers in the church*, 1 Cor. xii. 28, therefore the church is before officers†." And from Matt. xviii. 15, and 1 Cor. v. 12, he concludes, "That each man and member of the ſociety, in a juſt way, may be directed, cenſured, reformed, or removed, by the power of the whole, and each may and ſhould *judge* with the conſent of the whole: This belongs to all the members, and therefore to any that ſhall be in office, if they be members. They are ſuperior as officers, when they keep the rule; but inferior as members, and in ſubjection to any when they break the rule. *Chriſt gave ſome to be paſtors, ſome to be teachers.* He alone, out of his ſupreme and regal power, doth furniſh them with graces and abilities, appoints the work, lays out the compaſs thereof, the manner of diſpenſing, and the order and bounds of their diſpenſation." And he obſerves, that to remove the power of cenſure

* Survey of church diſcipline, part 1. p. 119.
† Page 91.

cenſure from a particular church, leads into endleſs diſputes; becauſe no general Council was called in the three firſt centuries, and no man can tell as there will ever be another*. Says he, "The truth is, *a particular congregation is the higheſt tribunal*, unto which the grieved party may appeal in the third place, if private council, or the witneſſes of two, have ſeemed to proceed too ſharply. If difficulties ariſe in proceeding, the Council of other churches ſhould be ſought to clear the truth; but the *power of cenſure* reſts in the congregation where Chriſt placed it. The churches ſent them, and therefore *are above them*‡." Yet now the churches were not allowed the power to ſay whether their miniſters ſhould meet at Saybrook, or not; and the reſult of their meeting being laid before the Legiſlature of October 14, 1708, they ſaid, "This Aſſembly do declare their great approbation of ſuch a happy agreement, and do ordain that all the churches within this government, that are or ſhall be thus united, in doctrine, worſhip and diſcipline, be, and for the future ſhall be owned and acknowledged eſtabliſhed by law. Provided always, that nothing herein ſhall be intended and conſtrued, to hinder or prevent any ſociety or church, that is or ſhall be allowed by the laws of this government, who ſoberly differ or diſſent from the united churches hereby eſtabliſhed, from exerciſing worſhip and diſcipline in their own way, according to their conſciences." Thus artfully was this new ſcheme eſtabliſhed, and all others declared to be no more than allowed or tolerated.

XIII. Mr. John Woodward, another Cambridge ſcholar, was then miniſter of Norwich; and

* Page 188, 190, 232, 238.

‡ Part 4, p. 19, 47.

and he ſoon got and read off to his congregation the firſt part of this act, but without the proviſo. Richard Buſhnel and Joſeph Backus, Eſquires, who had oppoſed that ſcheme in the Aſſembly, informed their church of the liberty they had to diſſent from it; but the miniſter carried a major vote againſt them; therefore thoſe repreſentatives, and other fathers of the town, withdrew from that tyranny, and held worſhip by themſelves for three months. For this the miniſter and his party cenſured them; an account of which being ſent to the next meeting of the Aſſembly, they were expelled therefrom. Hereby we may ſee how far corruption had prevailed in our land. For in 1641, three years after the firſt taxing law for miniſters was made in New-England, a law was made at Boſton, which ſaid, "No church cenſure ſhall degrade or depoſe any man from any civil dignity, office or authority, he ſhall have in the Commonwealth*." How much more equitable was this, than another law in Connecticut? which ſaid, "Whatſoever perſons ſhall on the Lord's day, under any pretence whatſoever, aſſemble themſelves together in any of the public meeting-houſes, provided in any town, pariſh or ſociety, for the public worſhip of God, without leave or allowance of the miniſter and congregation for whoſe uſe it was provided, and be thereof convict, every ſuch perſon ſhall incur the penalty of Ten Shillings for every ſuch offence. Nor ſhall any perſons neglect the public worſhip of God in ſome lawful congregation, and form themſelves into ſeparate companies in private houſes, on penalty of Ten Shillings for every ſuch offence." This part concerning ſeparate meetings cauſed ſore exerciſes

* Maſſachuſetts law-book, printed 1672, p. 44.

to many ſerious minds, and great difficulties in procuring civil officers; yet it was never repealed until October, 1770. But not long after Norwich miniſter had cenſured their repreſentatives, he conſented to refer the matter to a Council; and they followed it, with Council after Council, for about ſix years. Governor Saltonſtall came there himſelf upon one of thoſe occaſions; and Mr. Stoddard of Northampton was moderator of the laſt but one of thoſe Councils. My grandfather went a journey as far as Boſton and Ipſwich, an hundred and thirty miles, to conſult with Mr. Wiſe and the two Mather's upon theſe affairs. At laſt, by advice of a Council that met Auguſt 31, 1716, ſaid miniſter was diſmiſſed, and the church in Norwich determined to abide upon their ancient foundation. And it was known, that when the church was conſtituted at Saybrook in 1660, with the approbation of other miniſters, Mr. James Fitch was ordained their paſtor, by the laying on of the hands only of their two deacons, as a token that the power of ordination is in the church as a body. They came and planted Norwich the ſame year; and Mr. Fitch was continued one of the moſt uſeful miniſters in Connecticut for near fifty years. The church in Eaſt-Windſor, under the care of Mr. Timothy Edwards, father of Mr. Jonathan, alſo refuſed to receive the Saybrook platform. And the temper of thoſe who introduced it farther appears by the incorporating act of the town of Killingly, paſſed in May, 1708; which ſays, "No perſon now inhabiting on ſaid lands, or any other perſons dwelling without this Colony, who have purchaſed any lands within the ſaid townſhip, that ſhall not give due obedience to all the laws of this Colony for the upholding the worſhip of God, and paying all public charges, ſhall

ſhall have any benefit by this act." At the ſame time they gave their Governor two hundred acres of land therein. This account is carefully taken from their public records and laws, and other authentic vouchers.

XIV. A FEW things concerning baptiſm ſhall cloſe this chapter. An aged and honorable gentleman near Piſcataqua river informed me, that about the year 1710, a number of people in Dover* were ſo fully perſuaded that they ought, in a literal ſenſe, to be buried in baptiſm, that on a Lord's day, and the day after, Mr. Pike, their miniſter, baptized nine perſons in that way, in a branch of that river. But ſuch a noiſe was made, and oppoſition raiſed againſt it, as prevented any further proceedings therein. About the ſame time a Baptiſt meeting was ſet up at Scituate, in the county of Plymouth, where Preſident Dunſter ſpent his latter days to good purpoſe (vol. 1, p. 320.) Mr. John Peirce preached to them for ſome time, until he and others removed to Swanzey, in or about 1711, and on October 19, 1715, he was ordained a paſtor of the ſecond church there, colleague with Elder Joſeph Maſon, who was ordained in July, 1709. And they continued in good eſteem in their offices, until Elder Maſon died, May 19, 1748, and Elder Peirce September 8, 1750, being each of them near 90 years old. On March 16, 1714, Dr. Cotton Mather wrote the letter to the Baptiſt church in Boſton, which is in vol. 1, p. 522; ſubſcribed thus, viz. "To my worthy friend, Mr. Ellis Callender, elder of a church of Chriſt in Boſton." He joined to it in 1669; was a leading member of it when the Court nailed up their

* Mr. Hanſard Knollys was miniſter there, from the ſpring of 1638 to the fall of 1641, vol. 1, p. 101.

their meeting-houſe in 1680; and he was continued a great bleſſing to them until he died in a good old age, after the year 1726.

CHAP. III.

1. Arbitrary Claims and Proceedings. 2. Moody and White againſt them. 3. A cruel Law. 4. Liberty in Rhode-Iſland. 5. Mather for it. 6. Is friendly to the Baptiſts. 7. Jennings joins to them. 8. Wallin's Letters. 9. Arian Hereſy. 10. Hollis's Donations. 11. Some Revival of Religion. 12. Comer converted.

I. GOVERNOR Lyndon informed me, that, when the Quakers were hanged at Boſton, a view of the cruelty then exerciſed towards them, and of their behaviour under their ſufferings, moved Peter Wanton to join with that people. And his ſon Joſeph was a teacher among them in Tiverton for many years, whoſe daughter Richardſon told me, that, during Governor Dudley's adminiſtration, her father was frequently ſent to Boſton, to defend his town againſt the arbitrary claims of other miniſters; and that the Governor privately favoured him therein. Some extracts from the records of the Quaker ſociety ſhew, that in 1707 a cow, worth Three Pounds, was taken from

from John Packom, of Little-Compton, for a miniſterial tax of Six Shillings and Twopence. And that their monthly meeting on Rhode-Iſland, in the ſeventh month, 1708, ſent Joſeph Wanton with an addreſs to Governor Dudley, "Deſiring relief from ſufferings for prieſts rates, by a repeal of thoſe laws;" informing him that if it was not done here, they thought it their duty to addreſs the Britiſh Court upon it. A like application was afterwards made by the hand of Ebenezer Slocum, who reported to a meeting in 1709, that the Governor appeared kind and friendly; but as no relief was granted, they then ſent to England upon thoſe matters. By the ſame records we are informed, that in 1716, five cows and calves, worth Twenty-five Pounds, were taken from Peleg Slocum, and twenty-four ſheep, worth Eight Pounds Eight Shillings, from John and Abraham Tucker, all upon Slocum's Iſland, and near all for "A demand of Prieſt Holmes, of Chilmark," to which town ſaid iſland belonged, although the great channel betwixt the main and Martha's Vineyard muſt be croſſed to get to it. However, miniſters were far from being content with all the power they had yet obtained, and therefore preſented a petition to their Legiſlature, that they would call a general ſynod; doubtleſs to reviſe and carry into effect the propoſals of 1705. The Council voted to grant their petition, but it was not concurred with by the other branches of the Legiſlature*. And two excellent miniſters had ſuch a ſight of their danger, as to write the following letter to Mr. Wiſe.

Glouceſter, March 25, 1715.

II. "Reverend Sir,

"We have had the favour and ſatisfaction of reading, and according to our meaſure conſidering, the

* Douglaſs, vol. 2, p. 378.

the tranſcendent logic, as well as grammar and rhetoric, of your reply to the propoſals, by which our eyes are opened to ſee much more than ever before we ſaw of the value and glory of our invaded privileges; and are of opinion, that if your conſent may be obtained to a new edition, it may be of wonderful ſervice to our churches, if God ſhall pleaſe to go forth with it. However it will be a teſtimony that all our watchmen were not aſleep, nor the camp of Chriſt ſurprized and taken before they had warning. We are, Reverend Sir, full of dutiful reſpect and gratitude, your ſons and ſervants,

SAMUEL MOODY,
JOHN WHITE."

IT was re-printed accordingly; and, with Mr. Wiſe's other works, it had two editions more in 1773, upon an occaſion which will then be mentioned. Theſe two miniſters lived to ſee and rejoice in the glorious work of divine grace, which was granted in New-England, in and after the year 1740. Mr. Moody was miniſter at York, beyond Piſcataqua river. He preached without notes, and refuſed to be ſupported by tax and compulſion; and was the moſt powerful and ſucceſsful preacher of almoſt any in the land in thoſe days. Such oppoſition was raiſed againſt Governor Dudley, that he was removed, and never acted with our Legiſlature after Auguſt, 1715; and when they met again November 23, with the pliant Lieutenant-Governor Taylor in the chair, the following act was added to their other taxing laws, viz.

III. "*An act for maintaining and propagating of religion.*

"WHEREAS the laws of this Province have made good and wholeſome proviſion, that every town within the ſame be conſtantly ſupplied with an able,

able, learned, orthodox miniſter or miniſters, of good converſation, to diſpenſe the word of God unto them; and that ſuch miniſter or miniſters be ſuitably encouraged, and ſufficiently ſupported and maintained, by the inhabitants of ſuch towns: For the rendering the ſaid laws more effectual, and to prevent the growth of atheiſm, irreligion and prophaneneſs, *Be it enacted and ordained by the Lieut. Governor, Council and Repreſentatives, in General Court aſſembled, and by the authority of the ſame*, that the Juſtices of the Court of General Seſſions of the Peace, within the ſeveral counties, at the opening of their Courts from time to time, do give in ſpecial charge to the Grand Jury, to make diligent enquiry and preſentment of all towns and diſtricts within ſuch county, that are deſtitute of a miniſter, as by law is directed; and of ſuch towns and diſtricts that neglect to fulfil their contracts and agreements, and do not make ſuitable proviſion for the ſupport and maintenance of their miniſter or miniſters accordingly. And upon ſuch preſentment, complaint or information, in any other manner, the Court are directed and required vigorouſly to put the laws in execution, for the redreſſing of all defects and neglects of that kind*, and forthwith to make the neceſſary orders to that end, as by law they are empowered. And in caſe their orders ſo made be not duly obſerved, or by the contrivance and practice of ill men be eluded and rendered ineffectual; for the ſpeedy remedying and reforming of ſo great an evil, the Juſtices of ſuch

* From ſcripture and all experience it plainly appears, that miniſters have been as often guilty of defects and neglects as the people; but they made no law to puniſh miniſters therefor: Which *partiality* promoted atheiſm and irreligion, inſtead of preventing it.

ſuch Court are to repreſent and make report of their proceedings unto the next ſeſſion of the General Court or Aſſembly." Upon which the Aſſembly were to ſend a miniſter, recommended by three others, to every ſuch town or diſtrict, and to provide for their "Honorable maintenance," by adding a ſufficient ſum for the purpoſe to the Province tax upon ſuch places; and were to do the like to each place that neglected to fulfil former contracts with miniſters; as alſo to "Supply and ſupport a miniſter in places that are deſtitute, where the Juſtices neglect their duty." All which ſums their miniſters were to draw out of the Province treaſury. This act was made for ſeven years, and then was revived and continued till 1730; and that method of charging the Grand Jury has been continued ever ſince.

IV. RHODE-ISLAND Colony was now ruled by Governor Cranſton, and Deputy-Governor Jencks, in conjunction with other worthy men, under whoſe adminiſtration they enjoyed the greateſt peace, for above thirty years, that they ever did ſince they were a diſtinct government. And for the continuance of the ſame, and to prevent any ſociety or ſect from trying for any pre-eminence in the government, their Aſſembly of May 2, 1716, enacted, "That what maintenance or ſalary may be thought neceſſary by any of the churches, congregations, or ſocieties of people, now inhabiting, or that hereafter ſhall or may inhabit within the ſame, for the ſupport of their reſpective miniſter or miniſters, ſhall be raiſed by free contribution, and no otherways." Which law is ſtill in force; and we ſhall preſently hear a number of miniſters commending the good fruits of theſe meaſures, which yet they were very unwilling to come into.

V. PRESIDENT

V. PRESIDENT Mather publiſhed another piece in 1716, wherein he ſays, "For miniſters to pretend to a negative voice in Synods, or for Councils to take upon them to determine what elders or meſſengers a church ſhall ſubmit unto, without the choice of the church concerned, or for miniſters to pretend to be members of a Council without any miſſion from their churches, nay, although the church declares that they will not ſend them, is *prelatical*, and eſſentially differing not only from Congregational, but from Preſbyterian principles. And now that I am going out of the world, I could not die in peace, if I did not diſcharge my conſcience, in bearing witneſs againſt ſuch innovations and invaſions on the rights and privileges belonging to particular congregations of Chriſt*." Yet all theſe innovations and invaſions were made in the Saybrook ſcheme. And to ſhew that brethren, when choſen by the church, have a right to equal votes in Councils with elders, he ſays, "There are mechanics, who although they do not excel in that which is called *human learning*, are well verſed and learned in the ſcriptures, ſpending much time in conſulting thoſe oracles of God, and being men of great piety, and excellent natural accompliſhments, they may be very uſeful in Synods."

ECCLESIASTICAL hiſtorians give a remarkable account of what happened in the Nicene Synod. "A pious old man, who was no clergyman, nor exerciſed philoſophical notions, by his plain diſcourſe did more towards the conviction of an heretical philoſopher, than all the learned biſhops in the Council could do†."

* Diſquiſition concerning Eccl. Councils, Preface, p. 13.
† Diſquiſition, p. 19.

VI. These things naturally led him and his brethren into another ſort of behaviour towards the Baptiſts, than when he was ſcribe of the Synod of 1679, who declared that they were ſetting up their poſts by God's poſts; which moved the Court to nail up the doors of the Baptiſt meeting-houſe. For Elder Callender's ſon Eliſha was added to the church under his care, on Auguſt 10, 1713; after which he was educated at Harvard college, and called into the goſpel miniſtry; and as Preſident Mather had expreſſed his willingneſs for ſuch a thing to Elder Callender, his church called the Preſident, his ſon, and Mr. John Webb, to aſſiſt in ordaining Mr. Eliſha Callender, as paſtor of the Baptiſt church in Boſton, May 21, 1718. And Dr. Cotton Mather, in the ordination ſermon, ſaid, "It is very ſadly true, that many eccleſiaſtical communities, wherein piety has its votaries, yet are guilty of this evil, that they impoſe terms of communion which many that have the fear of God are by juſt exceptions kept from complying withal. Now in this unhappy caſe what is to be done? do this, let good men go as far as they can without ſin in holding communion with one another. But where ſinful terms are impoſed, there let them make their ſtops; there a ſeparation becomes a duty; there the injunction of heaven upon them is, *be ye ſeparate ſaith the Lord, and touch not the unclean thing, and I will receive you.* The *impoſers* are the *ſchiſmatics*. There have been many attempts to unite people in forms and terms, that are not the pure maxims of living unto God; and ſo to build the tower of Zion on a foundation which is not the *tried ſtone and the precious*, and ſo not the *ſure foundation*. There has hitherto been a blaſt from heaven upon all theſe attempts; they have miſcarried, as being rather calculated

culated for the tower of Babel. New-England alſo has in ſome former times done ſomething of this aſpect, which would not now be ſo well approved of; in which, if the *brethren, in whoſe houſe* we are now convened, met with any thing too *unbrotherly*, they now with ſatisfaction hear us expreſſing our diſlike of every thing that looked like *perſecution* in the days that have paſſed over us." (See vol. 1, p. 523—525.)

VII. The caſe of a member, who ſoon after joined to that church, I think proper here to mention. Samuel Jennings, Eſq; was born in Sandwich, in the county of Barnſtable, February 19, 1685, where he lived till he was above 18 years old, and then went a voyage to ſea, where he was preſſed on board a man of war. But meeting with very ill treatment there for five months, he in the evening of March 26, 1704, the ſhip being in a bay at Barbados, attempted to make his eſcape therefrom by ſwimming; but by the way he was ſeized and halled under water by a ſhark; a terrible caſe indeed! yet as he cried to God for help, the venomous creature let him go, and his life was preſerved, with the loſs only of part of a foot and an arm. He returned, married, and lived in good repute in his native town, which he repreſented ſeveral times in our Legiſlature. After he had ſerved them two years in that office, he wrote as follows concerning his ſoul affairs. Says he, "Though I had heard much preaching, and read many books, to ſupport the baptizing of infants, and had never read any books, or diſcourſed on that head with any that were againſt it, yet I found ſo much in the ſcripture to the contrary, that I could not believe it to be right. Notwithſtanding I went to ſeveral miniſters, and diſcourſed them on that point to get light, and alſo prayed to God to direct me in the right way; yet

ſtill

ſtill it appeared to me unſcriptural and erroneous. Then I went to Mr. Callender, the Baptiſt miniſter at Boſton, who not only diſcourſed with me, but lent me books ſet out by thoſe of his perſuaſion, to ſupport the truth thereof; which when I had read, I found ſo agreeable with the ſcriptures, and with the apprehenſions I before had from them, that I quickly ſought to be admitted into the communion of that church at Boſton. And having made a verbal profeſſion, before the church and congregation, I was baptized (that is dipped in the water) by Mr. Eliſha Callender, miniſter of the goſpel, on the 9th day of June, 1718, in the 34th year of my age. And truly I may ſay, as is ſaid of the Ethiopian eunuch, that I came away rejoicing. In a ſhort time after I arrived to a conſiderable degree of bodily health, which I had lacked for eight years before." He ſerved his town afterwards as their repreſentative, and in other offices; and, without his ſeeking, a commiſſion of Juſtice of the Peace was ſent him, which, for ſome reaſons, he choſe not to accept. He continued a member of ſaid church in Boſton till his death in 1764.

VIII. Soon after Mr. Callender was ordained, he opened a correſpondence with friends in London, which, with other means, had very great and extenſive effects. Thomas Hollis, Eſq; one of the moſt liberal men upon earth, had ſome acquaintance with Preſident Mather, when he was agent for this Province in England*, and now receiving accounts of the tranſactions and catholic ſentiments that were delivered at the ordination of a Baptiſt miniſter in Boſton, who was educated at Harvard college, he became the greateſt benefactor thereto that they have ever had to this day.

"*Nor*

* I. Mather's life, p. 170.

" *Nor yet to Harvard all his views confin'd;*
" *His active ſoul ſtill nobler work deſign'd.*
" *A kingdom's welfare dwelt on ev'ry thought;*
" *For gen'ral good his heav'nly candour wrought;*
" *To public peace his prudent ſchemes invite,*
" *Faction to quell, and claſhing ſects unite**."

WITH or near his firſt donation to the college, came the following letter from a miniſter of his acquaintance to his friend in Boſton.

" *London, March* 9, 1720.

" *Much eſteemed Brother Callender,*

" I THANK you kindly, for the particular account you gave me in your laſt; and I cannot but lament the ſad conſequences of ſin, and the great degrees of it which remain, even in God's own people; for ſurely the greateſt part, if not all thoſe who ſuffered ſo much for their religion at home, and at laſt left their native country, and run ſuch great hazards as they did, for the ſake of their conſciences, muſt, in the judgment of charity, be eſteemed the faithful ſervants of Chriſt. But when I conſider the methods which theſe took, or encouraged others to take, with thoſe who differed from them in matters not fundamental, I cannot but wonder at the depth of folly which remains with us, that any body of men ſhould ſo ſoon and ſo zealouſly purſue thoſe very methods which they had ſo juſtly condemned, and ſo greatly ſuffered by! It is a conſideration enough to check the towering thoughts of vain man, and to ſhew the reaſonableneſs of the apoſtolical advice, let him that thinketh he ſtandeth take heed leſt he fall; for I think we are but too ſubject to the leſſer degrees of this temper and carriage, in almoſt every ſtation of life. For though there is ſo good

* Rudd's poem on Hollis's death, p. 29.

good an underſtanding among the three denominations of diſſenters, viz. Preſbyterians, Independents and Baptiſts; yet we have too many who are whiſperers and backbiters, who by magnifying the weakneſſes, or diminiſhing the real worth and uſefulneſs of thoſe who differ from them, ſhew that this ſpirit, as much as it is deſtroyed, is yet too much alive, and, were it cloathed with power, would ſoon be formidable. But our wiſe and gracious GOVERNOR makes the weakneſſes and wrath of men to praiſe him, and the remainder thereof he doth reſtrain.

"As I heartily rejoice that the Lord hath preſerved the baptized church, at Boſton, through ſo many difficulties, ſo I am glad he hath raiſed up to them one ſo able and willing to promote the public good among them. May the Lord ſucceed you, my dear brother, that ſo peace and truth may ſpread and flouriſh in your days! I am indeed troubled at the paucity* of thoſe of our denomination, in New-England; though I cannot wonder at it, conſidering the treatment they have generally met with. I am grieved that any who profeſs the plain ſcripture baptiſm ſhould bring it into contempt, by holding with it ſuch wild and antiſcriptural opinions; but ſo it hath been with us, and yet remains; though I think the number of ſuch is diminiſhed, within a few years laſt paſt. But although we have but few ſoul-ſleepers or Sabbatarians, &c. yet the number of thoſe that plead for general redemption, and ſome other of the diſtinctive notions of Arminius, ſeem to increaſe among us: However, they ſeem not quite ſo rigid and uncharitable as formerly, and there is, I hope, the greateſt number of our denomination free from theſe

* Fewneſs in number.

theſe things. As to the method of educating youth among you, it muſt be allowed, that the deſign ſeemed to be well laid for promoting uſeful knowledge; and I hope your college will be improved to a very great advantage; but I find you have to lament, what we are not ſtrangers to, viz. that thoſe things which in themſelves are good, and tend to fit perſons for more extenſive uſefulneſs, are made neceſſary for a perſon in order to the miniſtry, or ſhould be thought, at any time, to be a ſufficient qualification for ſo great a work. Surely a man bleſſed with a good natural genius, who has been brought to a true ſenſe of ſin, and the ſaving knowledge of Jeſus Chriſt, though he ſhould want the advantage of human literature, muſt be better capable than one that has it, and is deſtitute of the other, to guide ſouls into the ways of ſalvation; becauſe as he knows ſomething of the deceitfulneſs of ſin, and the wiles of Satan, ſo he is more capable to comfort poor ſouls in diſtreſs, with the comforts wherewith he himſelf has been comforted of God. Therefore, though I have a high eſteem for human learning, and wiſh every miniſter had the advantage of a good degree of it, yet I conceive it is far from being neceſſary to a man's being employed in the public miniſtry, and much leſs do I think it in itſelf a qualification ſufficient for ſo weighty an undertaking. You will excuſe me for ſo freely declaring my mind upon this head.

"BEFORE this comes to hand, I hope you will have received a letter, ſubſcribed Thomas Hollis. This worthy gentleman is my very good friend, and one who, with his plentiful eſtate, has done much good among poor miniſters and churches here; and I hope New-England will find yet more happy effects of his liberality, and that, with your kind aſſiſtance

in

in finding and procuring proper objects, ſomething may be done by him for the particular encouragement of our denomination. For, in converſing with him upon this head, he deſired me to intimate to you, that he ſhall be well pleaſed, if you can find a proper perſon of the Baptiſt perſuaſion, for him to recommend to the governors of the college; and I doubt not but he will give ſome further encouragement to ſuch an one, who is deſirous to be qualified for public uſefulneſs. I intreat you therefore to turn your thoughts to this ſubject, and give me a line, ſo ſoon as you have found a fit perſon, that ſo good a work as this may be began. I am ready to believe, that, beſides Mr. Hollis's intereſt with the governors, in behalf of a hopeful young man, who is of our perſuaſion, he may be prevailed upon to allow Ten Pounds per annum, of your money*, towards defraying the charges of the college; which will be ſome encouragement for one, who, with promiſing natural parts, is deſirous to devote himſelf to ſtudy, in order to fit himſelf for public uſefulneſs, but is not well able to go through the charge. I leave this with you, and pray God to direct you. You will find a copy of Mr. Hollis's to you; to which I have added a catalogue of the cheſt of books therein mentioned; and if any are not diſpoſed of to the college library, yourſelf, &c. that then you would uſe your intereſt to obtain ſome of them for Mr. Daniel White†. When you have read Mr. Neal's hiſtory of New-England, I deſire you to give me your thoughts

* Mexico ſilver was then about Thirteen Shillings per ounce, in our money. *Douglaſs*, vol. 1, p. 494.

† Who came over from Mr. Wallin's church two years before, and was then preaching at Newport. Mr. Neal's hiſtory firſt came over this year.

thoughts of it in general; and if you find any thing in it which deſerves to be taken notice of, in order to be altered in a ſecond edition, pray freely communicate it to me, and I will do the ſame to the author, who is a very honeſt gentleman, and will be glad to be ſet right, in any thing wherein he may have been miſtaken. Juſt now a gentleman has been with me, whoſe name is Spurier, who hath brought ſome hundred tons of ſilver ore from New-England, and deſires me to aſſiſt him in preſenting a petition to the government, for encouragement*. If you have heard any thing of any late diſcoveries made of ſilver mines with you, or any thing of the character of the man, or what notion the people have of it, and will pleaſe to give me a line, it may be of uſe to me; for as I would willingly ſerve any honeſt man, according to my ability, ſo I would gladly know the perſons I move for. I am now obliged to conclude at preſent, and with all my heart commend you to God and the word of his grace, which is able and I hope will build you up in all things. May the Lord be with you, and the church of Chriſt under your care, cauſing all bleſſings to abound towards you in all things. So reſt your cordial friend, and unworthy brother in the Lord's vineyard, EDWARD WALLIN."

BEFORE this came to hand, our friends here had ſent a letter, directed thus: "The church of Chriſt at Boſton, in New-England, of the faith and order of the goſpel, baptizing viſible believers, upon the profeſſion of their faith, and believing the principles of a particular election of a certain number, who ſhall continue in the perſeverance in grace; unto the ſeveral churches of Chriſt that are

* Great fraud and iniquity was practiſed in the nation, about ſuch things, in the year 1720.

in the ſame faith and order of the goſpel, in London, do heartily deſire your increaſe and growth in the knowledge of our Lord Jeſus, and in all the graces of his holy ſpirit." They go on to give an account of the firſt riſe of their church, which ſay they "Several wiſe and learned men endeavoured, but could not accompliſh it; however, God was pleaſed to ſucceed the endeavours of our brethren, who were not ſo accompliſhed with acquired parts and abilities, by enduring, and to appear for them under all their troubles, ſo that we continue, through rich grace, a church unto this day." By thoſe wiſe and learned men, I ſuppoſe they intended Preſident Dunſter and ſome with him, who did not accompliſh what Elder Gould and his brethren did. One deſign of this letter was to requeſt ſome aſſiſtance in enlarging and repairing their meeting-houſe; and it occaſioned the following anſwer:

"*London, Auguſt* 3, 1720.

"*Dear and honored brother Callender,*

"I received the honor of the church's and your letter together, by Capt. Lawrence. After I had a little conſidered the contents of both, I waited upon our honored friend, Mr. Thomas Hollis, with the caſe, with whom I left it; and ſome little time after he told me, that himſelf and brother, Mr. John Hollis, would advance ſome money to repair your meeting-houſe, upon condition I would prevail with my brethren, concerned in our little fund, to make a preſent to Mr. Callender, as a token of our Chriſtian reſpects to him. The motion pleaſed me well: I willingly undertook my part, and happily accompliſhed it, though it were out of the common way of our exhibitions; and by the time this comes to hand I hope you will find remitted

by

by Mr. Hollis what I hope will fully anſwer the church's requeſt, together with a ſmall preſent, which I hope will not be unacceptable, to my brother Callender himſelf, and ſhew at leaſt our concern for the good of the baptized intereſt in Boſton, though we may not be capable to promote it in that meaſure we heartily deſire.

"CONCERNING the ſtate of the Arian controverſy with us, and our miniſter's concern therein, I ſhall briefly relate the whole as follows. Some few years ago one Dr. Clark, of the eſtabliſhed church, a gentleman of deſerved reputation, wrote a book, intituled, *The ſcripture doctrine of the Trinity*; in which he endeavours (after very high expreſſions of the dignity of the Redeemer's perſon and nature) to deny him to be a neceſſary ſelf-exiſtent being; which is conſtrued by his adverſaries as a conſequential denying his proper divinity, and a degrading our Saviour into a ſubordinate God, notwithſtanding all he hath offered in honor to this hope of a true Chriſtian. This made a great ſtir, and ſet many pens to work; ſome for and ſome againſt the Doctor's notions, among ſeveral of note in the church of England, and others; ſome of whom I think carried the point much further than the Doctor appears to have deſigned. I wiſh the conteſt had always continued in the eſtabliſhed church; but a little time carried it among the diſſenters, and one Mr. Peirce, a Preſbyterian miniſter, of ingenuity and conſiderable note, among others, eſpouſed Dr. Clark's notions openly (if he went no further.) The debates, pro and con, began to be managed with warmth, not only in the city, but in divers parts of the country. But Mr. Peirce being a man of ſo much note, and a miniſter in the city of Exeter, where the Preſbyterian intereſt is in much credit, he was the firſt

perſon

perſon who was very publicly noted among the diſſenters. His people (after ſome conſiderable time, and ſeveral methods uſed to accommodate matters) propoſed parting with him, as a man not ſound in the faith. This occaſioned each party to adviſe with their friends in the miniſtry, and others, what to do in the caſe. Some of the perſons wrote to upon this account (which were not a few) thought that Mr. Peirce had given too much cauſe for his people to believe that he had departed from the orthodox faith, in relation to the doctrine of the Trinity. Others, though they did not deny this, yet apprehended his people had not dealt ſo kindly by him in this matter as they ought to have done, by a man of his character and uſefulneſs.

"THE caſe was ſome time before a committee of miniſters and gentlemen of the three denominations in London, to ſee if they could find a way to accommodate matters at Exeter, and prevent diviſions upon the ſame account in other places; but they were not all of one mind. Then the whole body of miniſters in and about London was called together, and a paper of advices propoſed to be conſidered of in order to ſign, for accommodating matters at Exeter. Some of the miniſters, who were zealouſly concerned for the doctrine of the Trinity, at the ſame time propoſed, that a declaration of our faith, with reſpect to that important doctrine of the Chriſtian religion, ſhould be ſigned, and ſent down with the advices; but, upon a diviſion of the miniſters, it was rejected by a majority of about five perſons. It was then agreed at the next meeting to conſider the paper of advices, paragraph by paragraph; at which meeting were about one hundred and thirty miniſters of the three denominations, who placed your poor friend in the chair.

That

That part who were againſt ſigning a declaration of faith, as above, earneſtly inſiſted upon proceeding directly to read the paper of advices, as ſuppoſing it to be the immediate work of the meeting; the other ſide propoſed that article in the church of England which relates to the doctrine of the Trinity, and thoſe anſwers in the aſſembly's catechiſm to the ſame purpoſe, to be ſubſcribed by the London miniſters, before they proceeded to conſider the paper of advices. Warm debates there were indeed for two or three hours, when on a ſudden thoſe brethren who reſolved to ſubſcribe thoſe articles withdrew into the gallery; which, however juſt their zeal might be for the truth contended for, was not looked upon as a ſufficient reaſon for the breaking up the meeting at that time. So, after ſome meſſages ſent from the one part to the other, thoſe above proceeded to ſubſcribe thoſe articles, as containing their ſentiments of the doctrine of the ever-bleſſed Trinity; and the other proceeded to conſider the paper of advices, and drew up a general article of their faith as to that doctrine, which was ſigned by their moderator by appointment. This they ſent to Exeter; while the others drew up another ſet of advices, and ſent down with the articles they had ſubſcribed, and henceforward we came under the diſtinguiſhing characters of ſubſcribers and non-ſubſcribers, which diſtinction I fear will be too long remembered by us, for the common benefit of true religion.

"Some of the too warm among the non-ſubſcribers would fain fix the odious charge of *perſecution* on the other, while they again, with full as much warmth, would fix the charge of *Arianiſm* upon them. But this ſeverity is not allowed, by the greateſt part of either ſide of the queſtion; and I hope

I hope time will produce a better temper in both parties; but at preſent the matter is not accommodated, nor ſo good a harmony among the miniſters as could be heartily wiſhed. As I am ſatisfied that ſome among the non-ſubſcribers are gone too far into ſome of the diſtinctive notions of Arius, ſo I think ſome of the ſubſcribers have given too much ground of jealouſy, that they intended to ſet up thoſe forms as a teſt of arthodoxy, and the ſigning of them as neceſſary to perſons being acceptable and uſeful in the miniſtry. But I dare ſay, for the much greater part of both ſides, that they intended no evil to their differing brethren; and that it was a zeal for the doctrine of the Trinity, and the real divinity of our Saviour, which made ſome ſubſcribe the articles, and not any deſire to impoſe upon others; and that thoſe who refuſed the ſubſcription, did it with a deſign to maintain Chriſtian liberty, rather than any deſign to encourage or promote Arianiſm. There is no great difference in the number of either ſide; but I think there are not ſo many of our denomination among the non-ſubſcribers as are on the other ſide; and though I cannot ſay that there are none of our miniſters who too much favour the new ſcheme, yet I may venture to ſay in general, that our miniſters, eſpecially thoſe of the particular denomination*, are ſound in the faith, as to the real divinity of Chriſt, and the true doctrine of the bleſſed Trinity. Therefore thoſe who upbraid you with their being contrary, act either from prejudice or miſinformation. But ſuch have been the viſible conſequences of this difference, that brotherly love and charity, that indiſpenſable ornament of the Chriſtian religion, have been greatly loſt in the debates. May the

* i. e. holding to particular election.

the Lord encreaſe light and love, as well as zeal and faithfulneſs, among all the diſciples of our bleſſed Redeemer. So I muſt have done. The Lord be with you and yours.

EDWARD WALLIN."

IX. MR. James Peirce, above referred to, was ejected from his church, in March, 1719; but a party followed him, and built another meeting-houſe for him, in the city of Exeter; to encourage whom, he declared his expectation, that by what they ſuffered, "The ſpirit of impoſition and perſecution would be rendered more odious." And he accuſed that church of attempting to ſet up an INQUISITION, only becauſe they brought on ſuch a trial as conſtrained him to own his new opinions, which cauſed his removal from a profitable living*. Mr. Benjamin Wallin, ſon and ſucceſſor in office to Mr. Edward, publiſhed an excellent little volume upon the SONSHIP OF CHRIST in 1771, wherein he informs us, that ever ſince the above mentioned time, creeds and catechiſms have been cried down, and a regular Chriſtian education much neglected, under a pretence of reaſon and liberty. And America has been much infected with the ſame diſtemper. But it is not all traditions and human creeds that ſuch men reject, as the following extract from Peirce plainly ſhews. Under an appearance of a great regard to the ſcriptures, he publiſhed a catechiſm, wherein the anſwers were in ſcripture words; part of which ſay, "Q. How many Gods are there? A. There is one God. Q. Who is this God? A. Though there be that are called Gods, whether in heaven or in earth (as there be Gods many and Lords many) yet to us there is but one God, the Father, of whom are

* His works, printed 1728, p. 115, 136.

are all things, and we *for* him. One God and Father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in you all, 1 Cor. viii. 5, 6, Eph. iv. 6." Which creed is ſo far from delivering any from the tyranny of human inventions, that where the ſcripture puts no more than a ſemicolon between the mention of the Father and the Son, Peirce puts a period, and three pages in his book. And when he comes to ſpeak of the Son, he picks out words that ſpeak of his ſubjection and obedience to the Father; excluding thoſe which aſſert his equality with him, which are many*. Whereas, if we leave out the ſucceſſion of time, and the mode or manner wherein earthly relations commence, which have no place in the Deity, it is eaſy to conceive of a Father and Son of equal capacity and excellency; with ſuch an oneneſs in nature, and peculiarity of relation, as no others have: And alſo that one may, by voluntary contract, ſubject himſelf to another for wiſe purpoſes, and take upon him the *form of a ſervant*, and yet remain perfectly equal in nature. How unreaſonable then are thoſe great pretenders to reaſon, who profeſs to take the ſcriptures as their rule, and yet reject all thoſe truths therein, which croſs their darling notions! Thoſe who are convinced of the infinite evil of ſin, ſee the neceſſity of infinite merit to remove their guilt, and infinite power to change their hearts and lives, and to guide them to glory. We are told, that by openly owning theſe doctrines, Mr. Hollis gave a check to ſome, who had no great opinion of them†.

X. The Baptiſts in Boſton received from him and his brother 135*l.* 2*s.* for repairing their meeting-houſe, for which a letter of thanks was returned.

* Peirce's works, p. 352, 418—422.
† Rudd's poem, p. 23.

returned. And in Harvard college Mr. Thomas Hollis founded a profeſſorſhip of theology, with a ſalary of Eight Pounds per annum to the profeſſor, and an exhibition of Ten Pounds a piece per annum to ten ſcholars of good character, four of whom ſhould be Baptiſts, if any ſuch were there. As alſo Ten Pounds a year to the college treaſurer, for his trouble, and Ten Pounds more to ſupply accidental loſſes, or to increaſe the number of ſtudents*. And as by charter the miniſters of Boſton for the time being were conſtituted a part of the overſeers of the college, Mr. Hollis moved that Mr. Callender might have a ſeat among them. And in a letter to Mr. Callender of February 8, 1721-2, Mr. Wallen ſaid, "I congratulate my friend upon his admitment to the honor of an overſeer of the college. I pray God that truth and Chriſtian love may more and more abound." But we are informed by the late Mr. Condy, that Dr. Sewal, at the head of other miniſters, poſitively denied him a ſeat there. Yet how often have ſuch men accuſed the Baptiſts of being much more rigid than themſelves? and there was not a word in their charter to exclude him.

XI. DECLENSION and ſtupidity had long prevailed in the land, till a revival in ſeveral places was granted in 1721. Windham had ſo large a ſhare of it, under the miniſtry of Mr. Samuel Whiting, as to add eighty communicants to their church this year; for which they kept a ſpecial day of thankſgiving to God. One curious event then happened there which I ſhall mention. The word preached was ſuch a looking-glaſs to one man, that he ſeriouſly went to Mr. Whiting, and told him he was very ſorry that ſo good a miniſter as he was

* Neal's hiſtory of New-England, vol. 2, p. 220, 221.

ſhould ſo groſsly tranſgreſs the divine rule, as to tell him his faults before all the congregation, inſtead of coming to labour with him in private. The miniſter ſmiled, and ſaid he was glad that truth had found him out, for he had no particular thought of him in his ſermon. Norwich, ten miles from thence, enjoyed a conſiderable meaſure of this bleſſing the ſame year, from whence my pious mother dated her converſion. Many young people in Boſton were turned to a ſerious regard for religion alſo in 1721. The ſmall-pox coming there in April, and prevailing moſt terribly through the year, had a deep effect upon many ſouls. It was thought that not more than a quarter of the inhabitants had paſſed through that diſtemper before, and none of them who were under 18 years*. One of them deſerves particular notice here.

XII. JOHN COMER was born in Boſton, Auguſt 1, 1704, and ſat under the miniſtry of the two Mather's. Having a great inclination for learning, he, by Preſident Mather's influence, was taken from an apprenticeſhip to a trade, and put to ſchool, in December, 1720. Serious turns of concern about his ſoul had been frequent with him for ſeveral years; which greatly increaſed for ſeventeen days after he had taken that infection. "Nothing, ſays he, but the ghoſtly countenance of death unprepared for was before me, and no ſight of a reconciled God, nor any ſenſe of the application of the ſoul-cleanſing blood of Chriſt to my diſtreſſed ſoul: I remained in extreme terror until November 22. All the interval of time I ſpent in looking over the affairs of my ſoul; and on that day I was taken ſick. As ſoon as it was told me that the diſtemper appeared, all my fears entirely vaniſhed, and a beam

* Chriſtian hiſtory, vol. 1, p. 130. vol. 2, p. 375.

a beam of comfort darted into my ſoul, and with it ſatisfaction from theſe words, *Thou ſhalt not die but live, and declare the works of the Lord.* Yea, ſo great was my ſatisfaction, that immediately I replied, to my aunt who informed me, then I know I ſhall not die now; but gave no reaſon why I ſaid ſo." He recovered, and afterwards became a Baptiſt miniſter; and his ingenious diary and papers have furniſhed many valuable materials for our hiſtory. Ephraim Crafts, one of his young brethren, was baptized and added to that church in Boſton, January 27, 1723. John Dabney, from London, had been received by them December 4, 1720, and Richard Bevens, from Wales, the next Auguſt, who were members of Baptiſt churches before they came here. Other members from Europe were added to them, both before and ſince.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

1. Ill Treatment about Worſhip at Swanzey. 2. At Freetown. 3. Tiverton and Dartmouth. 4. Some Relief from England. 5. Miniſters Attempts for more Power defeated. 6. Hollis and Wallin's Letters. 7. Further Donations, and Springfield Affairs. 8. Firſt exempting Laws from miniſterial Taxes. 9. Sufferings at Rehoboth. 10. The Lyme Diſpute. 11. Connecticut Laws, and Yale College.

I. EQUAL religious liberty, by virtue of a ſpecial act, was enjoyed in Boſton; but was ſo much denied in the country, that moſt of the Baptiſts had no heart to ſend their ſons to Harvard college; though a few of them did ſo, whereby they made ſome uſe of Mr. Hollis's donations there. Great pains were taken to compel every town to receive and ſupport ſuch miniſters as the Court called orthodox. A law was alſo made at Boſton, in the May ſeſſion of 1718, to tax all to the building and repairing of pariſh meeting-houſes. In 1717 the pious and judicious Elder Luther fell aſleep, leaving the care of the firſt church in Swanzey to Elder Ephraim Wheaton, who had been a colleague with him

him about thirteen years. The ſecond church in Swanzey had then two ordained paſtors; yet in April, 1719, their Select-Men were convented before Briſtol Court, "For not having a miniſter according to the law of the Province." But upon proving that Elder Wheaton was their lawful miniſter, they were diſmiſſed, "Paying coſts*." His meeting-houſe ſtood near the borders of Rehoboth; and he and many of his people who lived therein were taxed to Pedobaptiſt miniſters of that town, of which we ſhall hear more preſently.

II. FREETOWN, which lies on the eaſt ſide of the great river againſt Swanzey, met with worſe treatment than they did. For on September 9, 1717, they made choice of Thomas Craghead, a miniſter from Ireland, for their paſtor; and he accepted of their call: But inſtead of an amicable agreement with them about his ſupport, he went in January, 1718, and procured an act of Briſtol Court, to compel Freetown to pay him a ſalary of Sixty-five Pounds a year, to begin from the day he was choſen their miniſter. And for refuſing to pay it, about fourteen of the inhabitants were ſeized and impriſoned at Briſtol; one of whom was Benjamin Chaſe, a member of a Baptiſt church in Newport. In April, 1719, each party carried witneſſes about theſe matters to Briſtol Court; but the Court diſmiſſed them all, and required the town to obey their former order. In 1720 Thomas Gage and George Winſlow, their Select-Men, were fined Forty Shillings a piece for not aſſeſſing Craghead's ſalary. At laſt he was defeated in a trial at law, and was forced to quit the town; but theſe broils produced great and laſting evils therein. Little-Compton had ſettled a legal miniſter; and as Elder Tabor owned

* Briſtol Court records.

owned ſome land in that town, he was taxed to him; for which a riding-ſaddle was taken from Tabor, as a perſon informed me who ſaw it.

III. TIVERTON and Dartmouth were the only remaining towns in the Province which had not yielded to the ruling party about worſhip. When orders for that purpoſe had come from their Courts, they had reported, that Joſeph Wanton was the miniſter of Tiverton, and Elder Tabor the miniſter of the weſt part of Dartmouth, and another man for the eaſt part. But as the Court did not eſteem them to be orthodox, a complaint againſt thoſe towns was preſented to their Legiſlature in 1722; who annexed ſuch ſums as they thought proper for the purpoſe to their Province tax. This being heard of, their Select-Men refuſed to aſſeſs it; for which two of them out of each town were ſeized on May 25, 1723, and were impriſoned at Briſtol. Hereupon Thomas Richardſon, who married friend Wanton's daughter, was ſent over to London; and with Richard Partridge, Agent for Rhode-Iſland Colony, preſented a memorial to the King in Council; wherein they obſerved, that our charter allows equal liberty of conſcience to all Chriſtians except Papiſts; and that neither the charter nor any law had eſtabliſhed any teſt of orthodoxy in this Province, only as Preſbyterians and Independents had ſet up their major votes as ſuch; whereby diſſenters from them were frequently brought under great ſufferings; from which no redreſs could be obtained here, "The Aſſembly always oppoſing whatever the Governor and Council were at any time diſpoſed to do on that behalf." And as the King, at his acceſſion to the throne, promiſed protection and liberty of conſcience to all his diſſenting ſubjects without exception, they prayed that he would denounce his negative

negative upon thoſe laws or parts of laws among us, that interfered therewith, and alſo order thoſe priſoners to be releaſed. A committee was appointed upon the caſe; whoſe report with the act of Council thereon are as follow:

IV. "*To the King's moſt excellent Majeſty.*

"MAY it pleaſe your Majeſty, in obedience to an order in Council, from the late Lords Juſtices, during your Majeſty's abſence abroad, bearing date the 24th day of October laſt, we did make a repreſentation upon an act paſſed in the Province of the Maſſachuſetts-Bay, in New-England, in 1722, intituled, An act for apportioning and aſſeſſing a tax of £6232 13 11; ſince which time another act, mentioned in the ſaid order of reference, paſſed the 29th day of May, 1723, intituled, An act for apportioning and aſſeſſing a tax of £6205 15 7½, is come to our hands; by which act a tax is laid in expreſs terms upon the inhabitants of Dartmouth and Tiverton, for the ſupport of a Preſbyterian, whom they call an orthodox miniſter, which falls almoſt entirely upon the Quakers, there being very few inhabitants of any other perſuaſion in thoſe two towns*. But as by the charter granted to this Province a free and abſolute liberty of conſcience to all Chriſtians (except Papiſts) was intended to have been their foundation and ſupport, and as by ſeveral laws paſſed there, it ſeems to have been laid down as a juſt and equitable rule, that the majority of each town congregation ſhould have the choice of their own teachers, we cannot ſee why the Quakers ſhould be refuſed this liberty, in the towns where

* The memorial ſays, "The greateſt part of the inhabitants of the ſaid towns being Quakers, or Anabaptiſts, or of differing ſentiments in religion from Independents and Preſbyterians." *Quaker records.*

where they are ſo great a majority, and be obliged to maintain a teacher of a different perſuaſion. Wherefore we humbly propoſe to your Majeſty, that this act may be repealed; which is moſt humbly ſubmitted.

WESTMORELAND,
T. PELHAM,
M. BLADEN,
EDW. ASHE.

Whitehall, May 6, 1724.

" *At the Court at St. James's, 2d day of June,* 1724.

PRESENT,

" The King's moſt excellent Majeſty, his royal highneſs the Prince of Wales, A. B. of Canterbury, Lord Chancellor, Lord Preſident, Lord Privy-Seal, Lord Chamberlain, Duke of Roxburg, Duke of New-Caſtle, Earl of Weſtmoreland, Lord Viſcount Townſend, Lord Viſcount Torrington, Mr. Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, Mr. Vice-Chamberlain, William Pultney, Eſq;

" UPON reading this day at the board a report from the Right Honorable the Lords of the Committee of Council, upon the petition of Thomas Richardſon and Richard Partridge, on behalf of Joſeph Anthony, John Siſſon, John Akin, and Philip Tabor, priſoners in the common gaol at New-Briſtol, in his Majeſty's Province of the Maſſachuſetts-Bay, in New-England, for not aſſeſſing the inhabitants of the towns of Dartmouth and Tiverton the additional taxes of £172 11, impoſed upon them by an act paſſed there in the year 1722, which appears to be for the maintenance of Preſbyterian miniſters, who are not of their perſuaſion; and alſo in behalf of their friends called Quakers in general, who are frequently under great ſufferings for conſcience ſake in that government: By which report it appears that their Lordſhips are of opinion, that it may be adviſeable for his Majeſty to remit the ſaid additional

additional taxes, ſo impoſed on the ſaid two towns, and to diſcharge the ſaid perſons from gaol. His Majeſty in Council taking the ſaid report into conſideration, is graciouſly pleaſed to approve thereof, and hereby to remit the ſaid additional taxes of One Hundred Pounds, and Seventy-two Pounds Eleven Shillings, which were by the ſaid act to be aſſeſſed on the ſaid towns of Dartmouth and Tiverton. And his Majeſty is hereby further pleaſed to order, that the ſaid Joſeph Anthony, John Siſſon, John Akin, and Philip Tabor, be immediately releaſed from their impriſonment on account thereof. And the Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, and Commander in Chief for the time being, of his Majeſty's ſaid Province of Maſſachuſetts-Bay, and all others whom it may concern, are to take notice, and yield due obedience hereunto.

TEMPLE STANYAN."

BEFORE this, I find Mr. Wallin, in one of his letters, ſaying of King George the Firſt, "Without any partiality to him as our reigning Prince, I believe he is the greateſt man, and the moſt fit for government, of any Prince in the Chriſtian world." And his ſon and ſucceſſor, then Prince of Wales, was not inferior to him. By the above act our friends were releaſed from a thirteen months impriſonment. And as Jacob Tabor and Beriah Goddard, of Dartmouth, were impriſoned for not aſſeſſing ſaid tax of 1723, Henry Howland, their other aſſeſſor, laid their caſe before the Aſſembly at Boſton, who on November 26, 1724, paſſed an act to releaſe them, "To ſignify their ready and dutiful compliance with his Majeſty's declared will and pleaſure." Anthony and Siſſon were of Tiverton, the reſt were of Dartmouth, and Philip Tabor was a Baptiſt miniſter therein: Theſe things

were far from affording any ſatisfaction to the miniſterial party here, as the following facts will ſhew. For at the annual convention of their miniſters at Boſton, May 26, 1725, they drew up an addreſs to their Legiſlature, which ſays,

V. "CONSIDERING the great and viſible decay of piety in the country, and the growth of many miſcarriages, which they fear may have provoked the glorious Lord, in a ſeries of various judgments, wonderfully to diſtreſs us: Conſidering alſo the laudable example of our predeceſſors to *recover and eſtabliſh* the faith and order of the goſpel in the churches, and provide againſt what immoralities may threaten to impair them, in the way of general Synods convened for that purpoſe; and conſidering that about 45 years have now rolled away ſince theſe churches have ſeen any ſuch conventions; it is humbly deſired, that the Honorable General Court would expreſs their concern for the intereſt of religion in the country, by calling the ſeveral churches in the Province to meet by their paſtors and meſſengers in a Synod, and from thence offer their advice upon that weighty caſe which the circumſtances of the day do loudly call to be conſidered*: *What are the miſcarriages whereof we have reaſon to think the judgments of heaven upon us call us to be more generally ſenſible, and what may be the moſt evangelical and effectual expedients to put a ſtop unto thoſe or the like miſcarriages?* This propoſal we humbly make, in hopes that, if it be proſecuted, it may be followed with many deſirable conſequences, worthy the ſtudy of thoſe

* What they wanted was to *recover and eſtabliſh* the power which miniſters claimed; and, like the Synod of 1679, which they refer to, to repreſent to rulers and people that the judgments of heaven would follow them, if that was not granted, vol. 1, p. 483.

thoſe whom God has made, and we are ſo happy to enjoy, as the nurſing fathers of our churches.

COTTON MATHER, *in the name of the miniſters aſſembled in their General Convention**."

ON June 3 the Council voted to grant their petition; but the Repreſentatives voted to defer the matter till their next ſeſſion, which the Council concurred with, and Lieutenant-Governor Dummer conſented thereto. June 11th, a committee of the General Court, whereof Samuel Sewal, Eſq; was chairman, appointed upon the affair of miniſters ſalaries, brought in a report, to have a law made to compel every pariſh to make up to their miniſters their ſeveral ſalaries, equal to what they were when their contracts were made; and for the Judges of their county Courts to determine how much their currency had depreciated. This report was not accepted; but inſtead of it a reſolve was paſſed, recommending it to every town, precinct and pariſh in the Province, to make up to their reſpective miniſters their ſalaries equal to what money was when their contracts were made; which reſolve they ordered to be read to each congregation the next Lord's day after it was received, and alſo in their pariſh meetings the March after†. Epiſcopalians ſent an account to the Biſhop of London of the ſaid petition for a Synod, who laid the ſame before the Lords Juſtices of the Regency; from whom a ſharp reprimand was wrote to Mr. Dummer, October 7, 1725, for giving any countenance to ſaid petition, and for not ſending over an account thereof immediately after it was preſented and acted upon. They declared that enquiry had been made by proper authority, and they could not find that there was any regular eſtabliſhment of a national or provincial church here,

* Hutchinſon, vol. 2, p. 322. † Maſſachuſetts records.

here, ſo as to warrant the holding Synods of the clergy; but that if there were, it was the King's prerogative to call them, which therefore was invaded by the General Court when they intermeddled therewith. And if ſuch a Synod was called, and ſhould be ſitting when their letter arrived, they required Dummer "To cauſe ſuch their meeting to ceaſe, acquainting them that their aſſembly is againſt law, and a contempt of his Majeſty's prerogative, and that they are forbid to meet any more; but if, notwithſtanding ſuch ſignification, they ſhall continue to hold ſuch an aſſembly, you are then to take care that the principal actors therein be proſecuted for a miſdemeanor; but you are to avoid doing any formal act to diſſolve them, leſt it be conſtrued to imply that they had a right to aſſemble.

CHARLES DELAFAYE."

MR. Dummer, in a letter to the Board of Trade, endeavoured to excuſe himſelf, by obſerving, that a like vote of the Council upon a like petition was paſſed in 1715, which was never cenſured from home as he knew of*. But then it was not countenanced by the other branches of the Legiſlature, as this was. The miniſter who, in behalf of the reſt, ſigned the above petition for a Synod, publiſhed a book in 1726, wherein he promiſes a faithful account of the diſcipline of the New-England churches. Much of it was written many years before, and an atteſtation was prefixed to it by Dr. Increaſe Mather, dated December 10, 1719. After ſixty-ſix years labour in the great work of the miniſtry he fell aſleep, Auguſt 23, 1723, æt. 85. Though he was a friend to Councils and Synods, yet he teſtified againſt giving them ſuch power as his ſon and many more wanted. But he and others being

* Douglaſs, vol. 2, p. 337, 378.

being removed, their children renewed their attempts for that power. His ſon had a ſtrong affection for the propoſals of 1705, and for Gov. Saltonſtall, who procured the eſtabliſhment of that ſcheme in Connecticut; even ſo that when Saltonſtall died in 1724, Mather preached a funeral ſermon for him at Boſton, an hundred miles off, and got it printed at New-London. He alſo now diſcovered his reſentment againſt Mr. Wiſe, for writing againſt ſaid propoſals*. And having declared that four Synods had been called by authority in the Maſſachuſetts, he ſays, "The Synods of New-England know no weapons, but what are *purely ſpiritual*. They have no ſecular arm to enforce any canons; they aſk none; they want none. And they cannot believe, that any Proteſtant ſecular arm would, upon due information, any more forbid their meetings, than they would any of the religious aſſemblies upheld in the country‖." Had this been true, we have no reaſon to think that their meetings would have been forbidden. But plain facts ſhew, that the immediate effect of the firſt of thoſe Synods was the diſſolving of a Houſe of Repreſentatives (who would not puniſh ſuch as the Synod had condemned) and the calling of another; who disfranchiſed, diſarmed and baniſhed a conſiderable number of perſons. And their ſecond Synod declared it to be the duty of the magiſtrate to put forth his *coerſive power againſt ſchiſmatics*; the effects whereof were the fining, impriſoning, ſcourging, baniſhing and hanging of thoſe they ſo called: And the reſult of the fourth Synod cauſed the nailing up of the Baptiſt meeting-houſe in Boſton (vol. 1. p. 83—86, 190, 218, 236, 329, 379, 387, 483:) And are all theſe wea-

* Ratio diſciplinæ fratrum Nov. Anglorum, p. 184.
‖ Ibid. p. 172, 173.

weapons *purely ſpiritual!* His meaning no doubt was, that their Synods only informed rulers of what was their duty, which they were to do out of regard to God, and not to them. But the moſt horrid perſecutions that ever were practiſed were done under ſuch pretences. And this author was in earneſt to have their order of miniſters ſupported by taxes, impoſed and collected "In the King's name." To juſtify which he ſays, "If the moſt of the inhabitants in a plantation are Epiſcopalians, they will have a miniſter of their own perſuaſion; and the *Diſſenters*, if there be any in the place, muſt pay their proportion of the tax, for the ſupport of this *legal miniſter**." He knew that ſuch an inſtance had not then taken place in New-England; and we know that every thing of that nature has been earneſtly oppoſed therein ever ſince. And he then commended ſome of his party, for involving a ſalary for their miniſters in a general rate for all town charges, "Where Quakeriſm was troubleſome†;" which he might have ſaid was likewiſe done to the Baptiſts in Rehoboth, if he had been willing the whole truth ſhould be known. Mr. Hollis's ideas of the nature of religion, and of the ſtate of this country, appear in the following letter to Elder Wheaton.

VI. "*London, March* 13, 1723.

"*Dear Sir*,

"I HAVE newly received, under covert of Mr. Eliſha Callender, your long looked-for letter, dated the 25th of December, and give you thanks for the account you give me of the affairs of your church, your circumſtances, and your neighbours. I am glad the books ſent you are of uſe unto you; by the ſame hand you will have another forwarded, which I value, and ſuppoſe you will. I rejoice in the

* Page 21. † Page 22.

the ſucceſs of your miniſtry, and increaſe of your church, which will naturally increaſe your cares with your joy. I mourn becauſe of the ignorance of your ſleeping Sabbatarians: Let us be thankful for our light, pity them and pray for them, and endeavour in love to lead them into the light alſo. God, that hath ſhined into our hearts by his goſpel, can lead them from the Sinai covenant and the law of ceremonies, into the light of the new covenant and the grace thereof. I pity to ſee profeſſors drawing back to the law, and deſire to remember that our ſtanding is by grace; and therefore not to be high-minded over them, but fear, remembering our Lord's words, *watch and pray, leſt ye enter into temptation.* Every word of God is precious; the ſaints love it; and they that honor him he will honor; and in keeping of it there is preſent peace, and a promiſe of future reward: We now live by faith and not by ſight; he that endureth to the end ſhall be ſaved. Go on, Sir, ſowing the ſeed, looking up to him whoſe work alone it is to give the increaſe, whoever be the planter or waterer; and as you do abound in your labours, and do find him multiplying ſeed unto you, may you yet abound more and more to the end, which is my ſincere wiſh. Let no man rob us of our comfortable hope, that when we ceaſe to be here we ſhall be preſent with the Lord, in whoſe preſence the ſaints believe is fulneſs of joy in a ſeparate ſtate, and expectation of greater in the reſurrection, when it ſhall be fully manifeſted how he loved them. Let none jeer us out of our duty now to liſp forth his praiſes with our tongues, ſince we expect hereafter to ſing in a better manner the ſong of the Lamb, with a much more noble chorus. In reference to your poll-tax and other taxes, which are neceſſary for ſupport of the govern-

government and ſociety, are not to be eſteemed a burthen; it is giving tribute or tithes to whom tribute is due, unleſs the taxes do oppreſs you unequally, becauſe you are Baptiſts and Separatiſts; if ſo, then let me know (who profeſs myſelf a Baptiſt) and I will endeavour to have a word ſpoken for you to the Governor, that you may be eaſed. You know that our profeſſion is not mody in your country nor ours; few if any of the great men ſubmitting to plain inſtitution; and as we profeſs ourſelves diſciples of Chriſt, it is our duty to take up our croſs with patience, and pay parochial duties where we live, and voluntarily maintain our own charge, and be thankful for our liberty as men and Chriſtians to our good God, who in his providence has inſpired many magiſtrates and miniſters in your Province with a truer ſpirit of catholic charity than formerly. You have heard, or may be informed by Mr. Callender, of my foundation in Harvard college, and the proviſion I have made for Baptiſt youth to be educated for the miniſtry, and equally regarded with Pedobaptiſts. If you know any as may be duly qualified, inform me, and I ſhall be glad to recommend them for the firſt vacancy. And to cloſe; while we profeſs to worſhip God nearer to the rule of primitive inſtitution and practice of our great prophet and teacher, the Lord Jeſus Chriſt and his apoſtles, let our light ſo ſhine before men in all holy converſation, that ſuch whoſe inclinations may be ready to ſpeak evil of our way may be aſhamed. May ſerious religion and godlineſs in the power of it flouriſh among us; every thing that goes in to make up the true Chriſtian. Where the image of Chriſt is formed in any, I call them the excellent of the earth; with ſuch I delight to aſſociate and worſhip, whatever particular denomination they may go by among men;

men; and this I would do till we all come into the unity of the faith, &c. Acts xx. 32.

Your loving friend,
THOMAS HOLLIS."

THIS I copied from the original letter; and would juſt obſerve upon it, that the generality of pariſh rates here were only for the ſupport of one way of worſhip, and not for the government, as he ſuppoſed. And further light about the conduct of that day may be gained from the following letter.

" *London, February* 18, 1724-5.

" *Dear Brother Callender,*

" I HAD the pleaſure of yours by Capt. Lawrence, and am glad to hear of your welfare. May the Lord preſerve your health and uſefulneſs. I rejoice at the increaſe of your members, and the good proſpect you have of more being added to your church, even of ſuch who ſhall be ſaved. It is ſweet encouragement to a poor labourer in Chriſt's vineyard, to find the Lord works with him; and ſome viſible inſtances of ſovereign grace and love among his people make his drooping ſpirit revive and ſing. May you have more of theſe, eſpecially among the riſing generation; for it is a particular pleaſure to ſee young ones look Zionward, and truly remember their Creator in the days of their youth; though in this caſe we have always reaſon to rejoice with trembling, becauſe ſo many who ſeemed to run well for a time, have been turned aſide by youthful luſts (which war againſt the ſoul) to the wounding the hearts of their miniſters, and the diſhonor of Chriſt. I am ſorry you have ſo much cauſe to complain, with us, of the great decay of the power and purity of religion. I am afraid this inquiſitive age of profeſſors ſpend too much time, and almoſt all their zeal, about matters of ſpeculation, and neglect

the cloſet and inward experimental religion too much. I obſerve by ſome letters and papers, by Capt. Lawrence, that there is a number of young men formed into a ſociety at Boſton, who have taken upon them the name of the Barean Society. It is a noble deſign to be wholly governed by ſcripture, and wiſh every profeſſor had ſuch a reſolution. They ſeem to be in earneſt about what they propoſe, and if any of their zeal, for any particular point in diſpute among Chriſtians, ſhould flame too high, I am glad they are under your conduct, by which I hope they will be directed for their mutual edification, and the honor of truth. They will have ſome books contained in the catalogue ſent ſoon, when I hope to write more particularly on this head. I met Capt. Lawrence at our honored friend Mr. Thomas Hollis's, where we had ſome particular diſcourſe about your place and people, and how his bounty to your church was laid out. From the whole I apprehend Mr. Hollis was not diſpleaſed, but approved of what you had done, and hath been ſo good as to order the remaining part of the money for your own uſe; beſides which he hath been pleaſed to ſend you a preſent of books. I have often, my dear friend, adored the divine goodneſs, in diſpoſing this gentleman's mind to ſo much ſervice for the intereſt of Chriſt in general, in New-England as well as Old; but eſpecially for the providence by which ſuch a gentleman came to the knowledge of our ſmall intereſt in thoſe Colonies, who had ſuch a love to deſpiſed truth, as to own and encourage it in the face of ſo many and powerful oppoſers. It is this good providence, I apprehend, hath occaſioned ſome perſons to look favourably towards the baptized intereſt in Boſton, and gives an encouraging view of greater advantage in years to come.

His

His favours to you and yours hath doubtleſs been ungrateful to ſome of your neighbours, and perhaps ſome have been unkind and weak enough to deſign you a prejudice by ſome accounts given; but be in no pain for that, for Mr. Hollis is no ſtranger to the weakneſſes which good men are liable to; nor will he be eaſily perſuaded into hard thoughts of any, notwithſtanding their many weakneſſes, who in their general conduct have acquitted themſelves like Chriſtians and honeſt men; nor do any who attempt to draw his diſpleaſure upon another perſon without good reaſon, do himſelf the leaſt ſervice thereby with Mr. Hollis. That the good will of him that dwelt in the buſh may be with you and yours, is the hearty deſire of your ſincere friend and unworthy brother, EDWARD WALLIN."

VII. IN addition to his other donations, Mr. Hollis founded a profeſſorſhip of the mathematics and experimental philoſophy in Harvard college, in 1726, with a ſalary of Eighty Pounds a year to the profeſſor; and he ſent over an apparatus for the purpoſe, which coſt about One Hundred and Fifty Pounds ſterling, beſides large additions to the college library*. And by a letter to Mr. Callender, from Gayhead, on Martha's Vineyard, of September 11, 1727, I find Jonas Horſwet, an Indian miniſter, ſending for ſome of the books he had received, and alſo mentioning Thomas Sekins, another Indian preacher at Nantucket, (ſee vol. 1, p. 438.) About this time four Baptiſts were ſeized for miniſterial taxes in the country, and were caſt into priſon at Boſton; but were ſoon releaſed again by the ſpecial order of Lieutenant-Governor Dummer†. Near the ſame time there came

* Neal, vol. 2, p. 220, 221.

† Proctor's remonſtrance in 1754.

came a letter from Springfield, ſigned by thirty men, directed to the Baptiſt church in Boſton, requeſting that their paſtor might be ſent up to labour among them. He went accordingly, and on July 23, 1727, baptized John Leonard, Ebenezer Leonard, William Scott, Abel Leonard, and Thomas Lamb, of Springfield, and Victory Sykes and Marcy Lawton, of Suffield. A letter to him dated July 19, ſigned Daniel Brewer, Ebenezer Devotion, Stephen Williams, Samuel Hopkins, Nehemiah Bull, blames him for not firſt coming to them, and ſays, "We cannot think, that preaching to or treating with particular perſons in a private manner, to inſtil into them doctrines that *we think* are not according to truth and godlineſs, to be ſo Chriſtian like; and we aſſure you is not what we expected from Mr. Callender, whatever we might have feared from ſome others." Mr. Devotion was miniſter in Suffield, and Bull in Weſtfield; the other three were of Springfield. When Mr. Callender went there again the next year, the three Springfield miniſters wrote to enquire whether he came prepared for and expecting a public diſpute about baptiſm. His anſwer was in theſe words:

"*Springfield, September* 17, 1728.

"*Reverend Sir,*

"It is not my cuſtom and manner to go about the country to diſpute and debate and wrangle with thoſe that differ from me in opinion. It is well known that I am for peace with all men, and for Chriſtians to live in love and charity, and for every man to act as he is fully perſuaded in his own mind. But if you will not be quiet and eaſy, and will inſiſt upon it that your people muſt hear what is to be ſaid in oppoſition to what *I think contrary to truth and*

and godlineſs, you may inform, Sir, your humble ſervant, ELISHA CALLENDER.

"*To the Reverend Mr. Daniel Brewer.*"

VIII. I FIND no anſwer to this.——Upon the receipt of their ſecond charter, Dr. Cotton Mather ſaid, "Religion is forever ſecured; a righteous and generous liberty of conſcience eſtabliſhed. And the General Aſſembly may, by their acts, give a *diſtinguiſhing* encouragement unto that religion which is the *general profeſſion* of the inhabitants*." And for thirty-ſix years they made no act to exempt either Baptiſts or Quakers from taxes to his party of miniſters. The great earthquake was in the evening of October 29, 1727; and the Aſſembly that met the 22d of the next month paſſed the firſt act of exemption therefrom, that they ever did for any denomination. It was to impower every ſettled Epiſcopal miniſter to draw all the money which was aſſeſſed upon any of his ſociety, who lived within five miles of his meeting, if they uſually attended worſhip there; who were alſo to be exempted from taxes for building or repairing of meeting-houſes for the eſtabliſhed way. But it required each pariſh to make up to their miniſters, within two months, all the money that might by their means be taken from them. The five mile limitation was dropt afterwards; and by an act in 1742, the miniſter and church-wardens were required to give certificates to each pariſh treaſurer, where any of their ſociety lived, in order for their drawing ſaid money.

NOTHING is more amazing among men, than the influence which the love of power and gain has to blind their minds. The admiſſion of the houſes both of Orange and Hanover to the Britiſh throne, was

* Account of his father's life, p. 141. He himſelf died February 13, 1728, æt. 65.

was upon the principle that government is founded in compact. And the moſt eſſential article of the national compact was, that none ſhould be taxed but by their own repreſentatives. Yet becauſe the repreſentatives in this government refuſed to put it out of their power to give or withhold the ſalary demanded by the Crown, for Governors that they could have no choice in appointing or removing, an attempt was made in England to bring the caſe before the Parliament, and to take away our ſecond charter. But Mr. Jeremiah Dummer, brother to the Lieutenant-Governor, publiſhed in London ſuch a defence of our charter-rights in 1721, as, with other things, prevented it. Though in 1725 an explanatory charter was added, which deprived the repreſentatives of power to put their own Speaker into office, without the conſent of the Governor. Theſe things were juſtly complained of, by thoſe who daily practiſed a like iniquity themſelves. For it is not more certain that America is not repreſented in the Britiſh Parliament, than it is that a quantity of *money* does not give any men a right to judge for their neighbours about ſoul-guides, and to enforce their judgments with the ſword. Yet this was daily practiſed, to ſupport teachers, that many who were taxed to them had no more voice in chooſing, than ſaid repreſentatives had in their Governors. But as hot contentions ſtill continued about the Governor's ſalary, and other dangers hung over them, when their Aſſembly met at Boſton in May, 1728, they made a law,

"—THAT from and after the publication of this act, none of the perſons commonly called Anabaptiſts, nor any of thoſe called Quakers, that are or ſhall be enrolled or entered in their ſeveral ſocieties as members thereof, and who alledge a ſcruple of conſcience

conſcience as the reaſon of their refuſal to pay any part or proportion of ſuch taxes, as are from time to time aſſeſſed for the ſupport of the miniſter or miniſters of the churches eſtabliſhed by the laws of this Province, in the town or place where they dwell, ſhall have their polls taxed towards the ſupport of ſuch miniſter or miniſters, nor ſhall their bodies be at any time taken in execution, to ſatisfy any ſuch miniſterial rate or tax, aſſeſſed upon their eſtates or faculty: Provided that ſuch perſons do uſually attend the meetings of their reſpective ſocieties, aſſembling upon the Lord's day for the worſhip of God, and that they live within five miles of the place of ſuch meeting." The way preſcribed for their being known, was for each county Court, at their next ſeſſion after the firſt of June annually, to appoint meet perſons of thoſe ſocieties, "To bring in a liſt, upon oath or ſolemn affirmation, of all perſons within their reſpective towns or precincts, that profeſs themſelves to be Anabaptiſts or Quakers, and uſually attend their meetings as aforeſaid, after which the clerk of the peace of the county ſhall give in to the aſſeſſors of each town or precinct a liſt of their names."

IX. HERE we may ſee that arbitrary power is always the ſame in nature, in every age, and every country. *Go ye, ſerve the Lord; only let your flocks and your herds be ſtayed*, ſaid Pharaoh. Let their polls be exempted, but their eſtates and faculties be taxed, ſaid the Maſſachuſetts. Herein they imitated him; but in two other points they went beyond him. *Go not very far away*, ſaid Pharaoh; go but five miles, ſaid the Maſſachuſetts; though many of their own pariſhioners, from that day to this, muſt go much further than that to meeting. Neither did Pharaoh require a liſt of the people upon

upon oath, as theſe did. Little did Mr. Hollis know how his brethren here were treated. His friend Wheaton, who, as was before obſerved, with many of his ſociety, lived within the bounds of Rehoboth, now hoped for ſome relief; and for that end applied to their next county Court; but were told by the judges, that ſaid law did not take place that year. And for refuſing to pay that year's tax to John Greenwood and David Turner, miniſters of that town, twenty-eight Baptiſts, two Quakers, and two Epiſcopalians*, were ſeized and impriſoned at Briſtol, by Jonathan Boſworth and Jacob Ormſbee, conſtables of Rehoboth; the main of them on March 3, 1729. Hereupon they ſent a petition to Governor Burnet in Council; wherein they claimed charter rights, and mentioned the late declaration from England, that there was no national or provincial church eſtabliſhed here, and the releaſe of priſoners upon that footing; and that if relief was not granted to them, they ſoon expected the impriſonment of ſeveral Baptiſts and Quakers, of Taunton and Norton, on the ſame ſcore. The Governor and Council, on March 8, gave their opinion, that ſaid law did take place the preceding year; and ordered Seth Williams, Eſq; Chief Judge of that county, to convene a number of Juſtices

* Obadiah Bowen, Azriakim Peirce, Jonathan Thurber, Jeremiah Ormſbee, Squire Wheeler, Daniel Bullock, Samuel Goff, Joſeph Bowen, James Hicks, Seth Guernſey, Edmund Ingalls, Benjamin Ingalls, Ephraim Martin, Miel Peirce, Samuel Thurber, William Wheeler, Philip Wheeler, Gideon Hammond, Jeremiah Ormſbee, jun. Ephraim Martin, jun. John Jones, James Lewis, Thomas Horton, Richard Round, Jotham Carpenter, Samuel Bullock, Richard Bullock, Ephraim Wheaton, jun. Baptiſts; Henry Finch and John Hicks, Quakers; Samuel Carpenter and John Bowen, Epiſcopalians. Philip Wheeler was Colonel of the militia in that county afterwards. Wheaton was ſon to their miniſter.

Juſtices at Briſtol, and to do all they lawfully could for the releaſe of thoſe priſoners. He convened ſome of them, but gave no relief to thoſe men. Mr. Comer came and preached to them March 11. And as no other way appeared of deliverance from a nauſeous place which had injured their health, but paying ſaid taxes and coſts, this was ſoon after done by their friends. However, leſt further complaints ſhould be carried to England, the Aſſembly at Boſton, November 19, 1729, added an act to exempt their eſtates and faculties alſo; but "Under the ſame conditions and limitations that their polls were before." And it was not to exempt from any tax that was made, and then in collectors hands, nor to continue in force any longer than their May ſeſſion, 1733.

X. AFTER the death of Governor Saltonſtall, the Connecticut Aſſembly of October 8, 1724, elected Joſeph Talcott, Eſq; in his ſtead; under whoſe adminiſtration they enjoyed more liberty for ſeventeen years, than they had under his predeceſſor. Stephen Gorton was ordained, at New-London, paſtor of the ſecond Baptiſt church in Connecticut, November 28, 1726, by the aſſiſtance of their elders, Wightman of Groton, and Comer of Newport. And as Wightman was called to preach in Lyme, Mr. John Bulkly, a learned miniſter of Colcheſter, came and held a public diſpute with him at Lyme, June 7, 1727, upon baptiſm and miniſters ſupport. The queſtion concerning the latter point Wightman ſtated thus: "Whether miniſters of the goſpel ought to be maintained in the leaſt, by goods taken away by force from men of contrary perſuaſions?" And he gave theſe reaſons againſt that practice: "1. Becauſe there is no precept nor precedent for ſo doing in the new

teſtament. 2. Becauſe ſo to do is what we would not be done unto ourſelves. 3. Becauſe the Lord requires only volunteers, and not forced men in his ſervice." But Bulkly refuſed to diſpute upon this footing, and ſhifted the queſtion, to whether their way was lawful or not? And, after going far about, he ſaid, "Lawful authority have a right to determine the undetermined modes of moral duties." To which Wightman ſaid, "1. But they muſt always determine the mode in the order of morality, and ſo they may do to others, as they would they ſhould do to them in like caſe. Now would you have the ſuperior powers of England ſo to determine for you, that you may have liberty and only bear your own charges in this affair? 2. This point I think is not undetermined in ſcripture, which ſhews us no other way for the ſupport of the goſpel miniſtry, but what is from the free-will offerings of the people." And as Bulkly raked together many ſcandalous things that had been publiſhed againſt the Baptiſts, and then ſaid, "They are but of yeſterday, and ſo conſequently the truth cannot be with them, as being not known in the world till about two hundred years paſt;" Wightman replied and ſaid, "I never read of a Preſbyterian longer than the ſaid term; how then can the way of truth be with them? If you ſay, there were men of your principles many years before, I anſwer, that there were men profeſſing the doctrines maintained by us long before that time*."

XI. The May ſeſſion of Connecticut Legiſlature, in 1729, paſſed an act in favour of Quakers, to exempt all from miniſterial taxes, "Who do attend the worſhip of God in ſuch way as is allowed, and ſhall produce a certificate from ſuch ſociety, of their having

* Bulkly, p. 132, 176. Wightman, p. 25, 28, 41.

having joined themſelves to them, and that they do belong unto their ſociety." At an aſſociation of Baptiſt churches at North-Kingſtown, September 6, 1729, they drew a petition to the General Aſſembly of Connecticut, that their brethren who were ſcattered up and down in that Colony might be exempted from taxes to miniſters and meeting-houſes that they diſſented from; which was ſigned by Richard Sweet, Valentine Wightman, Samuel Fiſk, John Comer, elders, Timothy Peckom, Joſeph Holmes, Ebenezer Cook, Benjamin Herenden, and other brethren, to the number of eighteen, one of whom was Thomas Durkee of Windham; to which was afterward added theſe lines, viz. "We the ſubſcribers do heartily concur with the memorial of our brethren on the other ſide, and do humbly requeſt the ſame may be granted, which we think will much tend to Chriſtian unity, and be ſerviceable to true religion, and will very much rejoice your honors friends, and very humble ſervants,

JOSEPH JENCKS, Governor,
JAMES CLARK,
DANIEL WIGHTMAN, } Elders.

"*Newport, September* 10, 1729."

HEREUPON the Aſſembly, who met at New-Haven, October 9, 1729, paſſed an act to allow the Baptiſts the ſame privileges as were granted to the Quakers the May before; both of them being perpetual laws, and not ſuch temporary acts as the Maſſachuſetts have perplexed themſelves and others with. Preſident Stiles informs me, that the Baptiſts in Saybrook were the firſt who took the benefit of this act. And a conciſe account of the affairs of the college he preſides over ſhall cloſe this chapter. Connecticut Legiſlature firſt granted a charter for it in 1701. It was then intended to be

at

at Saybrook; but after hot contentions, wherein a large and valuable part of their library was loſt, it was ſettled at New-Haven in 1718. Elihu Yale, Eſq; Governor of the Eaſt-India Company in London, made large donations to it, upon which it was called Yale College. In 1719, Mr. Timothy Cutler, miniſter at Stratford, was choſen Rector of it. But in September, 1722, he reſigned that office, and went to England for Epiſcopal ordination, from whence he alſo received the title of D. D. and was a miſſionary many years in Boſton. After his departure, Mr. Samuel Andrew, miniſter at Milford, preſided at their commencements, until Mr. Eliſha Williams, of Wethersfield, was choſen their Rector in 1725; which office he ſuſtained with honor to himſelf, and advantage to others, till he reſigned it on October 31, 1739, and removed back to Wethersfield; which town he often repreſented in their Aſſembly, and was ſerviceable in other offices; one of which was to go over as a ſpecial Agent for his Colony to England. Mr. Thomas Clap, of Windham, ſucceeded him in the college; the government of which, by their firſt charter, was in the Truſtees, who choſe the Rector and Tutors. But by a more ample charter from their Legiſlature, dated May 9, 1745, their order was changed to that of, *The Preſident and Fellows of Yale College, in New-Haven*; whoſe number is twelve. The eleven Fellows are all ſettled miniſters, who elect the Preſident, and alſo their own members, when any of them reſign, die, or are diſplaced; ſeven of the Corporation being a quorum*.

CHAP.

* Douglaſs, vol. 2, p. 183—188.

CHAP. V.

1. A general View of the Affairs of Rhode-Iſland Colony. 1. Of particular Errors therein. 3. Their civil State conciſely deſcribed. 4. Their Order commended by Maſſachuſetts Miniſters. 5. Remarks thereon. 6. Account of the Rogerenes. 7. The ſame inſtructive to others.

I. SINCE the diſorders in Rhode-Iſland Colony have often been recurred to, as a prevailing argument for ſupporting worſhip by tax and compulſion, the evil effects of which have had a great influence in continuing ſome of thoſe diſorders, an humble attempt ſhall here be made to ſearch this matter to the bottom. And in the firſt place we are to remember, that the exiſtence of that Colony, as a diſtinct government, was long an eye-ſore to many of their neighbours; who tried a variety of mean and cruel methods to divide and conquer it. And Solomon ſays, ſurely oppreſſion maketh a wiſe man mad; and none will pretend that all the inhabitants of that Colony were wiſe men: Yet all the madneſs of their wiſe men, and all the ignorance and folly of others, have been induſtriouſly held up to the world, as a convincing proof of the neceſſity of an eſtabliſhed religion by human laws. And as the terms learned and orthodox have been connected in this

this argument, colleges and perſecution have grown up together in the ideas of multitudes; and in not a few Calviniſm, family worſhip, and a religious regard to the Chriſtian ſabbath, have gone into the ſame connexion. Notwithſtanding it is moſt certain, that Mr. Williams, the founder of ſaid Colony, and Mr. Clarke, who procured their ſecond charter, were men of ſuperior learning, and held ſtrictly to the doctrines of ſovereign grace, and to the duties of private and public worſhip; as many other fathers of the Colony alſo did. But their children, as well as others, have been more ready to retain their errors than their virtues; ſome of which I will name.

II. DAILY prayer to God for what we need, and praiſes for what we receive, are duties taught by reaſon as well as revelation; and every perſon is *inexcuſable* that neglects the *immediate* practice of thoſe duties, Pſalm cvii. 8, 15, 28, 43, Acts xvii. 27, Rom. i. 20, 21. But the ordinances of ſpecial communion in the Chriſtian church, are only known by pure revelation, which requires previous perſonal qualifications before any may partake therein. But Mr. Williams, about the time of his baniſhment from the Maſſachuſetts, blended theſe two kinds of duties ſo much together, as to oppoſe the inculcating of prayer upon the unregenerate, as well as the immediate practice of church communion: As if a criminal might not petition for help and mercy, nor give thanks for what he received, any more than to act in fellowſhip with his Prince before he was pardoned and reconciled. And caſting off fear, and reſtraining prayer before God, is ſo exceeding natural to fallen men, that great numbers have held faſt this error. Above three years after Mr. Williams was baniſhed,

baniſhed, he alſo ſtumbled upon another error, which many who reproach him are ſtill tenacious of; namely, the opinion that miniſterial authority muſt be derived by an external ſucceſſion from inſpired men. The confounding of the Jewiſh prieſthood with the goſpel miniſtry, is the ſource of this error. Upon their return from Babylon, thoſe prieſts who could not produce a *regiſter* of their ſucceſſion from Aaron, were not ſuffered to officiate as ſuch, until a new miſſion ſhould be given from above, Ezra ii. 62, 63. And not finding a like regiſter from the apoſtles, cauſed Mr. Williams to refrain from church communion in his latter days, though not from public worſhip. And how ready have many been from hence to excuſe themſelves in a careleſs neglect of all religion? To which Gorton's teaching and influence added great force. He had a ſingular knack at turning the ſcriptures into miſt and allegory, under a pretence of great ſpirituality; and alſo at running down his opponents with ſatyr and ridicule; arts that have been very bewitching in latter ages. The coming and ſufferings of Chriſt he held to be myſtical, and not literal; and he treated the doctrine of viſible inſtituted churches with the utmoſt contempt. Says he, "Such Phariſaical interpreters, who erect churches as true churches of God, that admit of decay, and falling from God, in whole or any members thereof, are they who have deceived and undone the world, from the foundation thereof unto this day, and are the proper *witches* of the world which the ſcripture intends." And he conſtrued the mint, aniſe and cummin of the Phariſees, as applicable to all who practiſe the external adminiſtration of baptiſm, break-

breaking of bread, and church cenſures*. He was a leader in public worſhip at Warwick for ſixty years, by way of teaching, prayer and ſinging; but having no ſucceſſor, furniſhed with his art, a neglect if not a contempt of public worſhip and of other religious duties has greatly prevailed in thoſe parts, enforced with the remembrance of former cruelties ſhown to their fathers under religious pretences. And as Calviniſm was the general plan of orthodoxy among their oppreſſors, the oppoſite ſentiments more eaſily prevailed in moſt of the Baptiſt churches, though it was an apoſtaſy from the doctrines they were founded upon. And running into extremes, on other accounts, increaſed their unhappineſs. Being hardly accuſed with the want of valid adminiſtrators, moved ſeven Baptiſt churches, who met in London in 1643, to declare it as their faith, that by Chriſt's commiſſion every diſciple, who had a giſt to preach the goſpel, had a right to adminiſter baptiſm, even before he was ordained in any church†. But it is to be obſerved, that Philip was an ordained officer in the church before he baptized the young believers at Samaria; while none but apoſtles laid on hands after baptiſm, both there and at Epheſus; and which was attended with extraordinary effects in each place, Acts viii. 14, 17, xix. 6. Yet Mr. Samuel Hubbard informs us, that in 1652 the practice was adopted, firſt at Providence, and then at Newport, of gifted diſciples adminiſtring both baptiſm and laying on of hands, who were not ordained officers in any church; which practice was continued by ſome for many years after. In 1725 the ſecond church in Swanzey voted to make laying on of hands a term of their communion: Perhaps

* Gordon's antidote againſt Phariſaical teachers, p. 42, 52.

† Croſby, vol. 1, appendix, p. 21.

haps others had done ſo before. Many contentions and diviſions were cauſed by theſe things, which greatly obſtructed goſpel order in their churches. But as the Chriſtian church is the pillar and ground of the truth, and baptiſm is the initiating ordinance thereof, it ſurely muſt belong to her, eſpecially at ordinary times, to ſet men apart to adminiſter it.

INTERNAL right, and an external warrant to exerciſe it, are diſtinct things. Every renewed ſoul has an internal right to the ſpecial privileges of the church of Chriſt; and thoſe to whom he has given ſpecial gifts for the miniſtry, have an internal right to improve them; but a perſon muſt be received as an orderly member of a particular church in order to his acting as ſuch; and thoſe who are qualified for officers ought to be ſet apart as ſuch before they baptize others. This is now generally allowed. Both ſcripture and reaſon plainly ſhew, that actions may be done in extraordinary caſes, which ought not in ordinary times.

III. As to their civil affairs, the firſt charter of Providence Colony extended to the Pequot river and country, that is, into the heart of New-London county; and it was given eighteen years before Connecticut charter. And the ſecond charter to Rhode-Iſland Colony was given by the ſame authority which gave that of Connecticut; and this authority fixed the line betwixt them in a moſt explicit manner: Yet Connecticut made a practice of violently crowding over that line for above ſixty years after they received their charter. In 1720 Governor Jencks was ſent over Agent to England for help againſt them. At length, on September 27, 1728, Roger Wolcott, James Wadſworth, and Daniel Palmer, Commiſſioners for Connecticut, and William

liam Wanton, Benjamin Ellery, and William Jencks, for Rhode-Iſland, ſigned a ſettlement of that line. The ſouth part is exactly according to Rhode-Iſland charter; the north part bears a little eaſt thereof. Plymouth Colony was only a voluntary combination among themſelves, as to government; though they were allowed to continue ſo till the revolution. And Rhode-Iſland charter was given twenty-eight years before Plymouth was incorporated with the Maſſachuſetts; yet the line on that ſide was never eſtabliſhed, until it was done by a ſpecial commiſſion in 1741, according to the oldeſt charter*; which gave Rhode-Iſland the towns of Little-Compton, Tiverton, Briſtol, Warren, Barrington, and Cumberland, that they had not enjoyed before (vol. 1, p. 347, 350.) The hiſtory of their civil government may properly be divided into four periods. Before the revolution of 1688, parties both on ſecular and religious accounts cauſed much unhappineſs. From thence to 1732 their government was in wiſe and ſteady hands; ſo that they had but two Governors in thirty-four years. Afterwards a depreciating paper currency, with bribery in elections, produced many and great evils; a ſight of which moved the two competitors for the office of Governor amicably to give up their pretenſions, and to prevail with a very peaceable gentleman to accept the chair in 1769. Since then bribery and party influence have been better guarded againſt. And can any or all of theſe things afford the leaſt reaſon againſt equal liberty, or for the uſe of compulſion in the ſupport of worſhip? Yea, have not our opponents given evidence to the contrary in that Colony? The firſt Congregational church therein was formed at Newport, and Mr. Nathanael

* Douglaſs, vol. 1, p. 400, vol. 2, p. 95.

Nathanael Clap, from Dorcheſter, was ordained their paſtor, November 3, 1720. He was a man of eminent piety, who began to preach there in 1695, and was a great bleſſing among them till his death, on October 30, 1745, æt. 78; for whom Mr. John Callender preached and printed a funeral ſermon. Mr. Clap was a hearty friend to the primitive order of their churches: But Mr. John Adams, a young teacher of the modern ſtamp, gained the affections of a large part of his church; and becauſe Mr. Clap could not conſent to his ſettling as colleague with him, nor break bread to a number of the members, a party council divided the church, and the young miniſter was ordained over a majority, April 11, 1728; ſo that Mr. Clap was ſhut out of his meeting-houſe, and his people built another for him. The third Congregational church in that Colony was conſtituted at Providence, over which Mr. Joſiah Cotton was ordained, October 23, 1728*. Some things previous to this laſt event call for a place in our hiſtory. After conſiderable labours in Providence for it, the Maſſachuſetts miniſters ſent them the following letter.

"IV. *To the Honorable Joſeph Jencks, Eſq; late Deputy-Governor, William Hopkins, Eſq; Major Joſeph Williams, Joſeph Whipple, Eſq; Colonel Richard Waterman, Arthur Venner, Eſq; —— Wilkinſon, Eſq; Philip Tillinghaſt, Eſq; Capt. Nicholas Power, Capt. Thomas Harris, Capt. William Harris, Andrew Harris, Eſq; —— Brown, Eſq; John Burton, Jonathan Sprague, jun. Eſq; and to the other eminent men in the town of Providence†: Pardon our ignorance,*

* Comer's diary and papers. In leſs than two years Adams was diſmiſſed by his church, and not recommended.

† I am well informed, that Jencks (newly returned from his agency in England) Hopkins, Williams, Venner, Tillinghaſt, Power,

rance, if any of your honorable Chriſtian names, or if your proper order be miſtaken.

" HONORABLE GENTLEMEN,

" WE wiſh you grace, mercy and peace, and all bleſſings for time and eternity, through our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt. How pleaſing to Almighty God and our glorious Redeemer, and how conducible to the public tranquility and ſafety, an hearty union and good affection of all pious Proteſtants of whatſoever particular denomination on account of ſome differences in opinion would be, by the divine bleſſing, yourſelves as well as we are not inſenſible. And with what peace and love ſocieties of different modes of worſhip have generally entertained one another in your government, we cannot think of it without admiration; and we ſuppoſe, under God, it is owing to the choice liberty granted to Proteſtants of all perſuaſions, in the royal charter graciouſly given you; and to the wiſe and prudent conduct of the gentlemen that have been improved as Governors and Juſtices in your Colony. And the Rev. Mr. Greenwood, before his deceaſe at Rehoboth, was much affected with the wiſdom and excellent temper, and great candour of ſuch of yourſelves as he had the honor to wait upon, and with thoſe worthy and obliging expreſſions of kind reſpect he met with, when he diſcourſed about his deſires to make an experiment, whether the preaching of our miniſters in Providence might not be acceptable, and whether ſome who do not greatly incline to frequent any pious meeting in the place, on the firſt day of the week, might not be drawn to

Power, Richard Brown, and Sprague, were all Baptiſts; Whipple, an Epiſcopalian; Waterman, Samuel Wilkinſon, Burton, and the Harris's, were Friends.

to give their preſence to hear our miniſters, and ſo might be won over (by the influence of heaven) into ſerious godlineſs. And although God has taken that dear brother of ours from his work in this world, yet it has pleaſed the Lord to incline ſome reverend miniſters of Connecticut, and ſome of ours, to preach among you*; and we are beholden to the mercy of heaven for the freedom and ſafety they have enjoyed, under the wiſe and good government of the place, and that they met with kind reſpect, and with numbers that gave a kind reception to their miniſtrations among them. Theſe things we acknowledge with all thankfulneſs; and if ſuch preaching ſhould be continued among your people (deſigned only for the glory of God and Chriſt Jeſus in chief, and nextly for the promoting of the ſpiritual and eternal happineſs of immortal ſouls, and the furtherance of a joyful account in the great day of judgment) we earneſtly requeſt, as the Rev. Mr. Greenwood, in his lifetime, did before us, that yourſelves, according to your power, and the intereſt and influence that God has bleſſed you with, will continue your juſt protections; and that you add ſuch further countenance and encouragement thereunto, as may be pleaſing to the eternal God, and may, through Chriſt Jeſus, obtain for you the greater reward in heaven. And if ever it ſhould come to paſs, that a ſmall meeting-houſe ſhould be built in your town, to entertain ſuch as are willing to hear our miniſters, we ſhould count it a great favour, if you all, gentlemen, or any of yours, would pleaſe to build pews therein, in which you and they (as often as you ſee fit) may give your and their preſence and holy attention. And we hope and pray, that

* Mr. Moody, of York, with as much power as any.

that ancient matters (that had acrimony unhappily in them) may be buried in oblivion; and that grace and peace, and holineſs and glory, may dwell in every part of New-England; and that the ſeveral Provinces and Colonies in it may love one another with pure hearts fervently. So recommending you all, and your ladies, and children, and neighbours, and people, to the bleſſing of heaven, and humbly aſking your prayers to the divine throne for us, we take leave to ſubſcribe ourſelves your friends and ſervants,

PETER THATCHER,
JOHN DANFORTH,
JOSEPH BELCHER,
} Committee of the Aſſociation*.

"*Dated October* 27, 1721."

V. THE town of Providence ſent them an anſwer, dated February 23, 1722, ſigned in their name by Jonathan Sprague; wherein they ſay, "We take notice how you praiſe the love and peace that diſſenters of all ranks entertain one another with, in this government.—We anſwer, this happineſs principally conſiſts in their not allowing ſocieties any ſuperiority one over another; but each ſociety ſupports their own miniſtry, of their own free-will, and not by conſtraint or force, upon any man's perſon or eſtate; and this greatly adds to our peace and tranquility. But the contrary, that takes any man's eſtate by force, to maintain their own or any other miniſtry, it ſerves for nothing but to provoke to wrath, envy and ſtrife. And ſince you wrote this letter, the conſtable of Attleborough has been taking away the eſtates of our dear friends and pious diſſenters, to maintain their miniſter; the like hath been done in Mendon. Is this the way of peace! Is this the fruit of your love! Why do you hug the iniquity

* Miniſters in Boſton, Dorcheſter and Dedham.

iniquity of Eli's ſons, and walk in the ſteps of the falſe prophets, to bite with your teeth, and cry peace, but no longer than men put into your mouths but you prepare war againſt them?——You deſire that all former injury, done by you to us, may be buried in oblivion. We ſay, far be it from us to revenge ourſelves, or to deal to you as you have dealt to us, but rather ſay, Father forgive them, they know not what they do. But if you mean, that we ſhould not ſpeak of former actions, done hurtfully to any man's perſon, we ſay, God never called for that, nor ſuffered it to be hid, as witneſs Cain, Joab and Judas, are kept on record to deter other men from doing the like." A reply hereto was printed at Boſton, dated September 7, 1722, which did not pretend to deny the facts here mentioned; but made a great flouriſh upon a *word*, which was not in their firſt printed letter, but was the error of the preſs in a ſecond edition; and then took occaſion from what they ſaid about recording hurtful actions to publiſh a copy of a ſentence of Court againſt Sprague in Boſton, April 28, 1674, "For reproaching and ſcandalizing the magiſtrates, and for laſcivious carriage." And it inſinuated that their complaints about perſecution were becauſe of ſuch ſufferings as this.

SENSIBLE how the populace had been deceived by ſuch arts, Sprague wrote a rejoinder, dated January 24, 1723, in which he makes ſome apology for taking notice of ſuch an anonymous reviling piece, which profanely ſets the Court records of Boſton upon a level with God's infallible record concerning Cain and Judas; and informs us that one of the two witneſſes againſt him, in that caſe at Boſton, was afterwards brought to repentance, and joined to the Baptiſt church he belonged to in Providence;

Providence; when ſhe aſked and received his forgiveneſs, for wronging him in her teſtimony in that caſe. He alſo obſerves, that the affair was in his early days, before he made a profeſſion of religion, when he really was a vile ſinner. And for the ſatisfaction of ſerious people he ſays,

" *My youthful walk I'll not commend,*
Nor go about it to defend;
But to God's glory do confeſs,
I liv'd in ſin and wickedneſs.
Until God's love to me appear'd,
His dreadful wrath I greatly fear'd;
But when I hear'd Chriſt's lovely voice,
My heart within me did rejoice,
That he for ſinners freely dy'd,
That ſinners might be juſtify'd;
That all ſuch ſinners he would ſave,
As mercy of him humbly crave;
And do obey his holy will,
As 'tis declar'd in his goſpel;
So on his grace do I now reſt,
And ſo muſt all that ſhall be bleſt."

" But laſtly, why do you ſtrive to perſuade the riſing generation, that you never perſecuted nor hurt the Baptiſts? Did you not barbarouſly ſcourge Mr. Obadiah Holmes, and impriſon John Hazel, of Rehoboth, who died and came not home? And did you not barbarouſly ſcourge Mr. Baker, in Cambridge, the chief mate of a London ſhip? Where alſo you impriſoned Mr. Thomas Gould, John Ruſſel, Benjamin Sweetſer, and many others, and fined them Fifty Pounds a man. And did you not take away a part of the ſaid Sweetſer's land, to pay his fine, and conveyed it to Solomon Phips, the Deputy-Governor Danforth's ſon-in-law, who after

by

by the hand of God ran diſtracted, dying ſuddenly, ſaying he was bewitched? And did you not nail up the Baptiſt meeting-houſe doors, and fine Mr. John Miles, Mr. James Brown, and Mr. Nicholas Tanner?——Surely I can fill ſheets of paper with the ſufferings of the Baptiſts, as well as others, within your precincts; but what I have mentioned ſhall ſuffice for the preſent." Mr. Sprague preached for many years to a ſmall ſociety of Baptiſts in that which is now the eaſt part of Smithfield; and died in January, 1741, æt. 93. Mr. Comer knew him, and ſpeaks of him as a very judicious and pious man.

VI. As a further proof of the evil effects of coercive meaſures about religious worſhip, I ſhall here add ſome account of John Rogers, of New-London, and his followers, who are briefly deſcribed in vol. 1, p. 473—480. He intermixed a number of precious truths, with may things of a contrary nature. Governor Leete well obſerved, in a letter there publiſhed, that if Rogers and his party had been Governors in Connecticut, it might be doubted whether they would have allowed people ſo much liberty in keeping the firſt day of the week as a ſabbath, as the government there allowed to him and his followers in the oppoſite way. For Rogers imagining that the law which required the keeping of that day eſtabliſhed idolatry, was as zealous to pull it down, as the Jews were againſt idols in old times. And the ſufferings which he met with, for his zeal about this and other religious matters, ſeemed to be his life; until, to ſhew how ſtrong his faith was, he went to Boſton, and among the infection of the ſmall-pox there; but catched it, came home and died with it, and cauſed the death of ſome others thereby. This many might think

was quite enough to open the eyes of his followers; but it was far from doing it. Perhaps they might think he was taken away in judgment to them, for their coldneſs and negligence. Certain it is that Joſeph Bolles now publiſhed a ſecond edition of Rogers's book, intituled, "A midnight cry from the temple of God to the ten virgins ſlumbering and ſleeping; awake, awake, ariſe, and gird your loins, and trim your lamps, for behold the Bridegroom cometh, go ye therefore out to meet him!" Bolles wrote a preface to it, in which he ſays of the author, "For his religion he loſt his wife and children, and ſuffered continual perſecution, being near one third of his lifetime, after his converſion, in priſons. And in the 73d year of his age, he died in his own houſe, at New-London, 1721." Hereupon his ſon, and others of that ſect, ſet out afreſh in zealous attempts to pull down the idol-ſabbath; and as a number of them came into Norwich, in their way to Lebanon, on a firſt day, having things with them to diſcover that they were upon worldly buſineſs, and meant to appear againſt having that day kept as a ſabbath, they were ſeized by authority; and on July 26, 1725, they were brought before Joſeph Backus, Juſtice of the Peace, who fined them according to law; and refuſing to pay it, they were whipped.

VII. Governor Jencks being informed of their ſufferings, and that it was becauſe they were going to Lebanon to worſhip, and to adminiſter baptiſm, wrote a paper, giving ſome account thereof, as a warning to people againſt the Preſbyterian ſect, and ſet it up in a public place in Providence. The Juſtice having obtained a copy of that paper, publiſhed an anſwer to it; a manuſcript reply to which, in the Governor's own hand writing, is before

before me. He does not pretend to reply to it all; for ſays he, "Such unchriſtian-like behaviour, in giving them diſturbance when at their public worſhip, if true, may juſtly be condemned by all ſober people, and is that which never entered into my thoughts to juſtify in John Rogers, or any other man." But ſays the Governor, "It is very well known, to all the elderly inhabitants of Providence, that the Preſbyterian governments in New-England in general, and Connecticut in particular, have for a long time been uſing their utmoſt ſkill and endeavours to bring the greateſt part if not all this little Colony under their rule and government. But finding themſelves diſappointed in the ſeveral meaſures they have hitherto taken, they are now (as is ſuppoſed by many others as well as myſelf) about to try one artifice more in order to obtain their deſire; and that is by ſending in their miniſters among us, under a pretence of doing good to ſouls; whereas the deſign chiefly is, to gain ſuch a party as may be ſufficient to over-vote us in our elections, and ſo to gain the rule over us."

Experience has ſince given much greater light about theſe things than was then enjoyed in the country. In 1758 the Rogerenes publiſhed an abſtract of the hiſtory of ancient perſecutions in New-England, with high encomiums upon thoſe Quakers who returned and were hanged at Boſton, after they had been baniſhed on pain of death; and a reproof to their own ſociety and others for their declenſion from that temper and ſpirit. Many were hereby ſtirred up to travel from town to town, and to interrupt others in their worſhip, eſpecially in the year 1763. But when they did ſo, at Norwich and other places, the authority removed them away until their worſhip was ended, and then releaſed them, without

without fine or correction; which had a much better effect than their former puniſhments. Indeed in New-London, where moſt of them lived, Mr. Mather Byles was ſo uneaſy at their ſurrounding his gate, and calling him a hireling, that in 1768 he made a bitter complaint that their laws were not put in full execution againſt ſaid people; and for this and other reaſons he reſigned his paſtoral charge there, and went off to Epiſcopacy. About which time, a number of the Rogerenes were ſeized in a clandeſtine way, and were ſcourged in a moſt barbarous manner; for which may all the actors or abettors thereof be brought to true repentance! An inſtance or two of late ſuicide among the members of the Rogerene church, gave a great ſhock to the reſt; and a number of their children are now become agreeable members of other communities. And if all perſons and ſocieties were impartially protected by authority, and none but ſpiritual weapons were made uſe of, and they with due faithfulneſs, to propagate and ſupport the Chriſtian religion, who can tell how happy the effects would ſoon be?

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

1. The Succeſſion of Miniſters in Newport. 2. Comer becomes a Baptiſt, and is ſucceſsful there. 3. Attempts for a like Reformation in Providence. 4. Villainy detected at Swanzey. 5. Hollis and Wallin's Death. 6. State of the Baptiſt Churches. 7. New ones formed, with the Ordination and Deceaſe of ſundry Elders.

I. SOME revival of religion among the Baptiſts, as well as oppoſition thereto, is now to be deſcribed. Mr. John Clark was a chief leader in forming the firſt Baptiſt church in Newport, in 1644; and he continued their paſtor until his deceaſe, April 20, 1676. Mr. Obadiah Holmes ſucceeded him in that office, and died October 15, 1682. Near three years after Mr. Richard Dingley, from Britain by the way of Boſton, became their paſtor. An addreſs of his to the church is before me, wherein he deſcribes the duty of a paſtor to his people, and of a people to their paſtor, in a clear ſcriptural light. About 1694 he left that church and went to Boſton, and from thence to South-Carolina. After his departure they had only occaſional ſupplies till 1710, when they elected Mr. William Packom for their paſtor, in whoſe ordination Elder Luther of

of Swanzey aſſiſted. In 1718, Mr. Daniel White, from Mr. Wallin's church in London, was choſen for a colleague with Elder Packom: But as he was a ſtrict Calviniſt, diſputes ſoon aroſe about doctrines, which were greatly increaſed by a leader in the church, who was an aſſign of Mr. Clark's eſtate, and unfaithful in his truſt. Councils were called from Boſton and Swanzey upon it; and the Legiſlature of the Colony were moved to put him out of that office, and to put another man into it; though upon further ſearch they ſaw that this was not in their power. Therefore in 1721 they made a law, which requires all men who are entruſted with charitable donations annually to give an account of their proceedings therein to their Town-Council, which is ſtill in force. But a ſeparation took place in that church, and White adminiſtered to one party for ſeveral years, till it diſſolved, and he went to Philadelphia in 1728. A difference in ſentiments about laying on of hands, and ſome other things, cauſed the riſe of the ſecond church in Newport, about the year 1656; and Mr. William Vaughan was their firſt miniſter, who died in 1677, and was ſucceeded by Thomas Baker, and he by John Harden, who died in 1700. In 1701 James Clarke was ordained their paſtor, by the aſſiſtance of the Elders Pardon Tillinghaſt and John Brown of Providence. In 1704 Daniel Wightman was ordained a colleague with him; and they were ſucceſsful, and much eſteemed in their places to old age.

II. Mr. Comer, before mentioned, being at ſchool at Cambridge, joined to the firſt church there in February, 1723. Ephraim Crafts, his intimate friend, had joined to the Baptiſt church in Boſton juſt before. This Comer thought was a very wrong

wrong action, and took the firſt opportunity he had to try to convince him of it: But, after a conſiderable debate, Comer was prevailed with to take and read Stennett upon baptiſm, which gave him quite other views of the ſubject than he ever had before. However he concluded to be ſilent about it; and as education was the cheapeſt at New-Haven, he went and entered the college there in September, 1723; and continued a member of it until October, 1724; when infirmity of body cauſed his return by water to Boſton; and a terrible ſtorm at ſea, with the death of a peculiar friend juſt as he arrived, brought eternity ſo directly before him, as to ſpoil all his plauſible excuſes for the neglect of baptiſm. He informs us that thoſe words of Chriſt, *Whoſoever ſhall be aſhamed of me, and of my words, in this adulterous and ſinful generation, of him alſo ſhall the Son of Man be aſhamed when he cometh in the glory of his Father, with the holy angels*, had ſuch influence upon him, that, after proper labours with thoſe he was previouſly connected with, he was baptized and joined to the Baptiſt church in Boſton, January 31, 1725; and concluded to purſue his ſtudies in a private way. Four months after he was called to preach the goſpel; and on May 19, 1726, he was ordained a paſtor of the firſt church in Newport, colleague with Elder Packom; and a great bleſſing was granted upon his miniſtry in that town. Their firſt church had but ſeventeen members when he came there; to whom thirty-four were added in leſs than three years. And ſays Comer, "There was no public ſinging until I came, and by the bleſſing of heaven introduced it." Neither had they any church records, before he got a book, and collected into it the beſt accounts that he could obtain of their former

former affairs*. Out of a manuſcript written by their firſt paſtor, he tranſcribed the confeſſion of faith mentioned in our vol. 1, p. 255. For his ſupport he received £85 in 1726, £93 12 4 in 1727; but not a third part of this laſt ſum in 1728, becauſe two leading members of the church, who diſliked his cloſe and ſearching miniſtrations, had influence enough to turn a great part of the ſociety againſt him. At length Comer gave them an occaſion, which they eagerly made uſe of, to croud him out of his office in that church; for, without giving them any previous notice, he on November 17, 1728, preached up the laying on of hands upon every member as a Chriſtian duty, though not as a term of communion. Upon the cloſe of that year he ſays, "This has been a year of great exerciſe to

* He was very curious and exact alſo in recording other events. He obſerves that the year 1727 was a year of many remarkable occurrences. It was ſo for the death of rulers. King George I. died June 11; and in Rhode-Iſland Colony the Hon. Edward Thurſton, one of their Council [father of the preſent paſtor of the ſecond church in Newport] died in April; Governor Cranſton April 26; Deputy-Governor Nichols, who was elected in May, died in July. From July 28 to Auguſt 7 the heat was ſo intenſe as to cauſe the death of many. Through the three firſt nights in Auguſt the lightnings were conſtant and amazing. On September 26 was a terrible hurricane; and a more terrible earthquake October 29, which was followed with a ſmaller one in the morning of January 28, 1728. He firſt mentions the northern lights, in the evening of July 16, 1728, which were much greater on October 2 following. Dean Berkley arrived at Newport January 23, with whom Comer had an interview July 14, 1729. Governor Burnet came to Newport, in his way to Boſton, July 12, 1728, and died at Boſton September 7, 1729. Several perſons were baptized by way of immerſion by Epiſcopalian miniſters, as Mr. Carpenter by Mr. Uſher of Briſtol, January, 1725. Nathaniel Brown, and four others at Rehoboth, by Mr. Piggot of Providence, in July, 1726. A woman at Newport, by Dr. M'Sparran, of Narraganſet, in November, 1728.

to me. I have been as it were in the furnace of affliction. The difficulty in my flock has been heart-wounding, and ſometimes almoſt confounding: But I ſee God's grace is ſufficient for me. I am fully and clearly convinced that I ſhould have fallen into many hurtful evils, if ſovereign grace had not wonderfully prevented. Bleſs the Lord O my ſoul.——About this time I found my people ſo uncomfortable that we muſt divide from each other, which was exceeding grievous to me."

JANUARY 8, 1729, Mr. Comer was diſmiſſed from ſaid church; and the next day he ſays, "I paſſed under hands by Mr. Daniel Wightman, and offered for tranſient communion until ſpring, or till I ſaw how God in his holy providence might diſpoſe of me." A revival of religion in that ſecond church in Newport began the fall before; and as Elder Clarke was above 80, and unable to preach, Mr. Comer was received to preach one half of the Lord's days with Elder Wightman for two years. And above forty members were added to that church before he left it; which was the greateſt increaſe they had ever received in ſuch a length of time, at the cloſe whereof they had one hundred and fifty communicants, being the largeſt church in the Colony. For Comer's ſupport the ſociety gave him £129 in 1729, and £144 12 10 in 1730. As Newport was the head town of the government, Governor Jencks went and lived there, in order more conveniently to attend upon the duties of his office; where he joined in worſhip and communion with ſaid church; wherein Mr. Comer alſo now introduced regular records, which they lacked before. And as Mr. John Walton, a young gentleman of a liberal education, was invited to preach at Providence, where a like reforma-

tion might be hoped for, in the church whereof the Governor was a principal member, and oppoſition was raiſed againſt it, he wrote the following letter to Mr. James Brown, their paſtor.

III. "*Newport, March* 19, 1730.

"*Beloved Brother,*

"I AM heartily ſorry to hear of the difference in our church at Providence, about Mr. Walton's coming to ſettle there; as alſo for the unkind treatment he there met with from ſome, eſpecially conſidering he came not there with a deſign to impoſe himſelf upon the church, but at the requeſt of ſeveral of the brethren. And why his coming there ſhould be ſo ſtrenuouſly oppoſed, as I underſtand it is, I cannot conceive. As to his ſinging of pſalms, I have heard him ſay, he would not urge that as a duty upon the church. And if it were for that he might expect ſome allowance, by way of contribution, for his ſupport, it moſt certainly is an error in thoſe who oppoſe that as a thing unlawful: For I think the ſcriptures are very clear in that point, that it is not only lawful for a miniſter or elder that preaches the goſpel to receive (by way of contribution) a competent maintenance, but alſo the duty of the church, according to their ability, to afford it to him; and this I doubt not but I can fully prove by ſcripture againſt all contradiction. And I believe there are ſeveral of my brethren who can remember, that Elder Tillinghaſt (in his lifetime) who was a man exemplary for his doctrine, as well as of an unblemiſhed character, did ſeveral times in his teaching declare, that it was the duty of a church to contribute towards the maintenance of their elders, who laboured in the word and doctrine of Chriſt; and although for his own part he would take nothing, yet it remained the church's duty

to

to be performed to ſuch as might ſucceed him. And as to what Mr. Walton holds with reſpect to laying on of hands upon believers as ſuch, I do not underſtand by him that he oppoſes it any other ways, than if it be performed for the obtaining the extraordinary gifts of the Holy Ghoſt: But he thinks it ought not to be any bar to communion with thoſe who have been rightly baptized. And as I have been informed, by one or more of the ancient members of our church at Providence, that ſuch was the opinion of the Baptiſts, in the firſt conſtitution of their churches, throughout this Colony; and that ſuch as were under laying on of hands continued their fellowſhip with thoſe that were not, until one who was in great repute for wiſdom amongſt them did in his teaching declare, that the doctrine of laying on of hands was a doctrine of devils, upon which a ſeparation was made: And as I was informed when in England the ſeparation there was upon ſome ſuch like occaſion. But further, as to Mr. Walton's receiving, by way of contribution, if the church in Providence can freely hold fellowſhip with him, and do account he may be ſerviceable to them in preaching, as well as inſtrumental of doing good to others; I cannot imagine why any one ſhould oppoſe his receiving ſome allowance for his labour, from ſuch as are free to give it, none being under any compulſion; for I think it highly rational, if he leaves his own home, where he can, by overſeeing the management of his farm, live honorably, and removes to Providence purely to ſerve his brethren, that they ſhould conſider him accordingly.

I am, with due regard, Sir,
your affectionate Chriſtian Brother,
JOSEPH JENCKS."

ELDER

Elder Brown was of his mind; but Deacon Samuel Winſor took the lead of a party, who were reſolutely ſet againſt what the Governor had propoſed. A Council was called there, September 3, 1731, who adviſed them not to divide upon it; but at a meeting in October, Winſor and his party were for cenſuring Walton as a tranſgreſſor, for joining in prayer with Baptiſts who were not under hands. Elder Brown reaſoned with them upon it, and ſaid, "If we admoniſh brother Walton and ſet him apart, what will you do with others who hold that point as he does, as Elder Clarke, Elder Wightman, the Governor, and ſome others?" Their anſwer was, "That we muſt go through with it." And Elder Peter Place, of Smithfield, came and aſſiſted in making an open ſeparation in Providence church upon theſe points. And Winſor taught publicly, "That all thoſe who took any thing for preaching were like Simon Magus." This account is taken from original writings of Elder Brown and others, now before me. And as he died October 28, 1732, æt. 66*, Winſor's party prevailed, and ordained him as the miniſter of that church. Walton quitted the miniſtry, and followed other employments, whereby many were confirmed in their prejudices againſt him and his ſentiments.

IV. Perhaps a conciſe account of a piece of villainy, which was now detected at Swanzey, may be

* He was grandſon to Chad Brown, one of the firſt planters of Providence; and ſon to John Brown, who was elected into their Council in 1665, and was afterwards an elder in Providence church. From Elder James Brown's ſon James ſprang the four brothers who are now very noted traders in Providence, and great promoters of learning, and of the Baptiſt cauſe there. Said elder's ſon Eliſha was Deputy-Governor of the Colony in 1765, and his ſon Andrew was Juſtice of Peace in the State, and long an exemplary Chriſtian in the Baptiſt church in Glouceſter, until he died in peace, 1782.

be of ſervice, to warn all others againſt doing the like. That town was firſt granted to five men, three of whom were Baptiſts; and they laid out ſundry parcels of land, which they called paſtors and teachers lots. They had a large and curious book of church records, which was brought from Wales; and the ſurveys of thoſe lots were recorded therein. Barrington was originally included in Swanzey, and when it became a diſtinct town, they had their ſhare of thoſe lots for Pedobaptiſt miniſters. In 1718 Richard Harden became both a deacon and the clerk of the firſt church in Swanzey; and was encouraged to build and make improvements upon one of thoſe lots, near their meeting-houſe; and he was alſo a leading man in town affairs. Having ſuch advantages, he was tempted with a notion, that by deſtroying the records of thoſe lots, he could obtain that whereon he lived as common land. And behold! all the records of Swanzey church, betwixt 1663 and 1718 were taken out of the book, and have never been recovered ſince! When the church came to know it, as the government was in the hands of Pedobaptiſts, they invited Barrington to join with them in ſuing for their rights, with an offer, that if they would be at proportionable expence, they ſhould have two fifths of what they recovered. The offer was accepted, and Harden was ſued by a writ of ejectment, at the County Court, in July, 1730, and was caſt. He appealed to the Superior Court in September; but was alſo caſt there. By a reference the next year he obtained £ 125 for what he had done upon the land, and was obliged to quit it; and he took to keeping looſe company, and drinking to exceſs. Elder Wheaton, and a large part of his church, had been deſirous of ſettling Mr. Comer with him, before Comer went to Newport,

Newport, but Harden's influence prevented it. O what is man when left to himself!

V. The pious and liberal Mr. Hollis died in 1731: When the news of it arrived, Dr. Coleman preached a funeral ſermon for him, before the General Court at Boſton, April 1; which was publiſhed by their order. The two Profeſſors upon his foundations in the college each publiſhed a diſcourſe upon the occaſion, and Preſident Wadſworth wrote a preface thereto. Profeſſor Wiggleſworth ſays, "By his frequent and ample benefactions, for the encouragement of theological as well as human knowledge among us, who are Chriſtians of a different denomination from himſelf, he hath ſet ſuch an example of a generous, catholic and Chriſtian ſpirit, as hath never before fallen within my obſervation, nor, ſo far as I now remember, within my reading." Dr. Coleman ſays, "That which is ſingular in the piety and benefits of Mr. Hollis, unto theſe churches, was, that though he was not ſtrictly of our way, nor in judgment with us in the point of infant baptiſm, yet his heart and hand was the ſame to us, as if we had been one in opinion and practice with him. And in this let him ſtand a teaching pattern and example to us, of a noble, Chriſtian, apoſtolic ſpirit of love; which makes thoſe that differ in leſſer matters to receive one another to the glory of God, and a ſhining teſtimony againſt a narrow party ſpirit, which is ſo much the diſgrace and detriment of the Proteſtant intereſt, and which ſo early began among the apoſtles of Jeſus, and was rebuked by him, even in John himſelf, that apoſtle of love and charity afterwards, who once ſaid to Chriſt in a fret of zeal, Maſter, we ſaw one caſting out devils in thy name, and he followeth not us, and we forbid him, becauſe he followeth not us: But

Jeſus

Jeſus ſaid, forbid him not*." We ſhall have occaſion to remember this hereafter. In the mean time, the laſt letter that I have ſeen from Mr. Hollis's intimate friend diſcovers ſo much of the views and comforts of Chriſtianity, in a near ſight of mortality, that I ſhall annex it to the foregoing account. It was directed to Mr. Eliſha Callender.

"*London, November* 10, 1732.

"*Dear Sir,*

"I READILY own that it was my turn to have wrote to you long before now; but the long and threatening illneſs under which I have laboured, for more than twelve months paſt, have ſo reduced me, both in fleſh and ſpirit, that I have been incapable great part of the time of writing; which will I hope plead my excuſe with you. I am, through divine goodneſs, able to preach once a day on Lord's days, but hardly ever expect to get over my indiſpoſition. It is a wonder to the doctors, and all others who ſaw my caſe, that I am alive. I could not for ſeveral months but expect to be removed; but bleſſed be the Lord, I had a comfortable proſpect of another world, and was rather grieved than pleaſed at the view of a return into this. Here methinks is nothing pleaſant to the mind, but rather every thing ſullying and diſcompoſing: Why then ſhould not thoſe who have taſted divine grace, long to ſtretch and ſwim in the immenſe ocean? How ſweet is a drop here, therefore how raviſhing muſt the full enjoyment be! But Lord grant faith and patience, to wait thy time, even thy time, O Lord. I am glad to hear the baptized intereſt thrives, and wiſh that the power of religion were in a more flouriſhing condition with you than it is with us; for ſurely Jacob is ſmall and low. We have many controverſies

* Croſby, vol. 4, p. 213—229.

controverſies agitated, which ſeem to put a ſtop to the growth of pure religion and the power of godlineſs among us. National vice gains ſtrength, but vital religion is declined to a mere ſkeleton; yet the Lord's arm is not ſhortened. Humble ſervice attends you, from your affectionate, though at preſent afflicted friend and ſervant,

EDWARD WALLIN."

VI. ALL his letters that I publiſh are carefully copied from the originals now in my hands. He finiſhed his courſe with joy, in his 55th year, June 12, 1733*. To return to our own hiſtory, I would obſerve, that Rhode-Iſland Colony was firſt divided into three counties, in June, 1729; and in February, 1730, Providence was divided into the towns of Providence, Smithfield, Glouceſter, and Scituate. There were thirteen Baptiſt churches, moſt of them ſmall, who now held annual aſſociations to promote diſcipline and communion among them, upon the ſix principles in Hebrews vi. viz. one in Providence, the ſecond in Newport, two in Smithfield, the ſecond in Swanzey, and one in each of the towns of Dartmouth, Warwick, North-Kingſtown, South-Kingſtown, Scituate, Groton, New-London and New-York. The two in Connecticut had introduced ſinging in public worſhip, to promote which their Elder Wightman publiſhed a little pamphlet; but it was oppoſed by many among other churches. One church in Newport held the keeping of the ſeventh day ſabbath as a bar of communion, and refuſed to aſſiſt in ordaining Mr. Comer in 1726, on that account. Mr. Mumford, who firſt led them into that principle, introduced ſinging among them in 1677. In that, and in their ſiſter church at Weſterly, Comer ſays were

* Ibid. page 394.

were now about one hundred and forty communicants; and alſo that general redemption was held by the majority of all thoſe fifteen churches. The firſt church in Newport had now about fifty members, the firſt in Swanzey two hundred, and their ſiſter church in Boſton eighty. Theſe held to particular election, and did not make laying on of hands a bar of communion, and ſang in public worſhip; and the above named were all the Baptiſt churches then extant, north of New-Jerſey.

VII. Mr. Comer had held a correſpondence by letter with miniſters in New-Jerſey for ſeveral years; and in March, 1731, he went there by water, and viſited their churches in Middletown, Piſcataqua, Cohanſey, &c. He went as far as Philadelphia; and upon his return declared great ſatisfaction, in the ſight he had of the faith and order of thoſe churches. On July 3 he ſaid, "I deſired and obtained a diſmiſſion from the church where I had preached more than two years, becauſe I was never ſettled there, and found that ſome could not bear my preaching the doctrines of grace." In Auguſt he removed to Rehoboth, where on January 1, 1732, he ſaid, "I begin a new year, in a new place, but not in a new employment; for my delight of ſoul is in ſerving my dear Redeemer in the ſacred work of the miniſtry; which I prefer and eſteem above and beyond every thing elſe; though I acknowledge unfit and unworthy in myſelf. Lord, who is ſufficient for theſe things! My ſufficiency is alone of God, in whom I reſt and rely continually. January 20, a Baptiſt church was gathered in Rehoboth; and January 26 I was publicly inſtalled paſtor of it. Elder Ephraim Wheaton of Swanzey preached from 1 Theſſ. v. 12, 13, and gave me the right hand of fellowſhip." And a precious num-

ber of ſouls were hopefully converted under his miniſtry there. In June he viſited Sutton and Leiceſter, and baptized Thomas Richardſon, Daniel Denny, Eſq; brother to Mr. Prince's wife of Boſton, and ſix more. In July he preached and baptized a man in Middleborough. November 30 he baptized fifteen perſons at home, who were chiefly ſeals of his miniſtry.

Two learned miniſters were now ſettled in Newport. Mr. John Callender, nephew to their miniſter in Boſton, who had enjoyed the benefit of Mr. Hollis's donations in Harvard college, was ordained a paſtor of the firſt church in Newport, October 13, 1731, colleague with Elder Packom, who died three years after. Mr. Nicholas Eyres, who was born in Wiltſhire, Auguſt 22, 1691, and educated in the city of Briſtol, became a Baptiſt after he came over to New-York; and he was ordained paſtor of a ſmall Baptiſt church there in 1724, by the two Elder Wightman's. A collection was made in Newport, Providence, &c. to help them in building a meeting-houſe in that city. But in 1730 the church became much broken; Eyres ſays, "Some of them deſerted, under a pretence of love to the principles of abſolute election and predeſtination." Therefore he came and ſettled at Newport in October, 1731, colleague with Elder Wightman. Elder James Clarke, of that church, died December 1, 1736, æt. 88, much eſteemed by thoſe who knew him.

Mr. James Bound, a ſenſible Baptiſt, came over from England, and dwelt a while in Salem village, now Danvers, where Mr. Peter Clark was miniſter; who could not be content with perſonal diſputes, but alſo frequently preached againſt the Baptiſt principles, when there were no others in the place

that

that held them. Bound told him that it was an unfair way of treating mankind; but he perſiſted in it, until he turned a number of his people from his own way, who removed, and began a Baptiſt ſociety in Sutton. Mr. Bound's ſon John married a member of Mr. Clark's church, and removed to that town, where the preaching of Sutton miniſter for infant baptiſm turned her from it; and when Clark heard thereof, he wrote her a long letter upon the ſubject. This ſhe communicated to Mr. Walton, and he wrote an anſwer thereto, and ſent it in a ſealed letter to Mrs. Bound. But by ſome means Clark got it into his hands, and publiſhed both letters, with animadverſions thereon, in 1732. She told me that ſhe never ſaw Walton's letter to her, till ſhe ſaw it in print. How well this agrees with the gentleman, or the Chriſtian, the reader will judge.

In December, 1731, an act was paſſed in Boſton, for the Quakers only; which left out the affirmation, and five mile limitation, and required the aſſeſſors in each pariſh, where any Quakers lived, to take an annual liſt of them, and to deliver it to their pariſh clerk by the 20th of July; and if any of them ſhould happen to be omitted therein, two principal members of the Quaker ſociety might certify the ſame to the aſſeſſors by the 10th of Auguſt; and they ſhould alſo be exempted from taxes to the eſtabliſhed worſhip. As the exempting laws for Baptiſts expired in 1733, Mr. Comer's people were immediately taxed to other teachers; and ſome of them were impriſoned therefor. But upon application to their Legiſlature they were releaſed, in 1734; and a like law was made for the Baptiſts as had lately been for the Quakers; though no penalty was laid upon their aſſeſſors, for breaking thoſe laws, which they frequently did.

The

The Baptiſt churches in Swanzey and Rehoboth met with ſore bereavements in 1734; when Elder Wheaton died April 26, æt. 75; and Mr. Comer the 23d of May following, before he had compleated his 30th year. But how much did he do in a little time! A decline immediately followed, from which neither of thoſe churches have fully returned to this day; though the firſt of them has lately done ſo in a great meaſure. On September 16, 1735, a Baptiſt church was conſtituted at Sutton; and September 28, 1737, Benj. Marſh and Thomas Green were ordained joint paſtors of it. The former was from Salem, and the latter from Malden; being an early planter in Leiceſter. And September 28, 1738, by mutual agreement, the brethren at Leiceſter became a church by themſelves, and Green their paſtor. May 16, 1736, Elder Wightman, of Newport, baptized the wife of Mr. Nathanael Mather, a Preſbyterian miniſter of Long-Iſland*. November 4, 1736, a Baptiſt church was formed in Brimfield; and on November 4, 1741, Ebenezer Moulton was ordained their paſtor‖; who deſcended from a member of the firſt houſe of Repreſentatives at Boſton, in 1634, but who was a ſufferer from the ruling party there three years after, (vol. 1, p. 87.)

March 24, 1738, a century after the deed of Rhode-Iſland was given, by the Narraganſet Indians, Mr. John Callender delivered a ſermon at Newport, which he publiſhed, with enlargements; containing the beſt hiſtory of that Colony then extant. But his uncle at Boſton was taken from his beloved flock the laſt day of that month; and he finiſhed his courſe in the following happy manner.

March

* Eyres's regiſter.

‖ He married the above named John Bound's widow.

March 21 he ſaid, "When I look on one hand, I ſee nothing but ſin, guilt and diſcouragement: But when I look on the other, I ſee my glorious Saviour, and the merits of his precious blood, which cleanſeth from all ſin. I cannot ſay I have ſuch tranſports of joy as ſome have had, but through grace I can ſay I have gotten the victory over death and the grave." Being aſked what word of advice he had for his church? he earneſtly replied, "Away with lukewarmneſs! Away with ſuch remiſſneſs in attending the houſe of prayer, which has been a diſcouragement to me, and I have been faulty myſelf!" The Boſton Evening-Poſt, of April 3, ſays, "Friday morning laſt, after a lingering ſickneſs, deceaſed the Reverend Mr. Eliſha Callender, miniſter of the Baptiſt church in this town; a gentleman univerſally beloved by people of all perſuaſions, for his charitable and catholic way of thinking. His life was unſpotted, and his converſation always affable, religious, and truly manly. During his long illneſs he was remarkably patient, and in his laſt hours (like the bleſſed above) pacific and entirely ſerene; his ſenſes good to the laſt. *I ſhall*, ſaid he, *ſleep in Jeſus*, and that moment expired!"

Mr. Jeremiah Condy, who took his firſt degree at Harvard college in 1726, after preaching a while in this country, went over to England; but he was now ſent for from thence, and was ordained paſtor of the Baptiſt church in Boſton, February 14, 1739. The third Baptiſt church in Connecticut was conſtituted and originized the ſame year in Wallingford. By reading Delaune's plea for the nonconformiſts, and other means, a number of people there were brought to embrace their ſentiments, and joined to the Baptiſt church in New-London;

London; but ordinarily met for worſhip at Wallingford, from 1731 till they had a regular diſmiſſion on Auguſt 20, 1739; and after being formed into a diſtinct church, ordained Mr. John Merriman for their paſtor. Mr. Edward Upham, of Malden, ſon to a member of the Baptiſt church in Boſton, took his firſt degree at Harvard college in 1734; and after preaching at Springfield about two years, a church was conſtituted there October 14, 1740, and the next day he was ordained their paſtor, by the aſſiſtance of Mr. Condy, and Mr. John Callender.

THE exempting law for Baptiſts had again expired, and their church in Rehoboth, being afraid of further trouble, requeſted the town to vote them clear. This was conſidered of at a town-meeting January 24, 1740, when it was declared that they could not lawfully do it; yet at another meeting February 13, they voted, "That they were willing to grant or agree upon a ſalary for the miniſter of the Baptiſt church the preſent year, in caſe the ſaid elder will accept thereof." For this they had no more law than the other, and it was evidently done to enſnare them if poſſible. In May following ſaid exempting law was revived, to continue ſeven years.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

1. A Review of paſt Darkneſs. 2. Of Light at Northampton. 3. And extenſively through the Land. 4. The Nature of the Work deſcribed. 5. How far it prevailed. 6. Writings for and againſt it. 7. Claſſes againſt it. 8. And Courts alſo. 9. Where the real Blame lies.

I. A VERY great change is before us, which ſome have called the great reformation, and others great confuſion; which diverſity of opinion is no new thing. Concerning the founder of Chriſtianity, *ſome ſaid he is a good man; others ſaid, nay, but he deceiveth the people.* In 1680 a ſermon was delivered before the corporation of the city of London, wherein the diſſenters were accuſed of obſtructing the cauſe of reformation, becauſe they would not conform to the national worſhip; and recourſe was had to the ſeverities of Congregationaliſts in New-England, againſt the Baptiſts and others, to juſtify the ſeverities that were exerciſed towards diſſenters in England. Therefore Dr. Owen publiſhed a book in 1681, wherein he obſerves, that all the reformation that has taken place ſince the riſe of Antichriſt, was produced entirely by theſe three principles, viz. taking the holy ſcriptures as their only perfect rule in all religious matters; allowing each rational perſon to judge

judge of their meaning for himſelf; and holding that all the power of office and government in the church of Chriſt is derived from him, by his word and Spirit, to each particular church, and not by a local ſucceſſion from any other power in the world. And ſo far as any have declined from this laſt principle, he aſſures us that therein they have rejected a main reaſon of ſeparation from the church of Rome*. If ſo, then New-England was involved at this time in *darkneſs that might be felt*. Very few of the common people had any idea, that a perſon could have a right to the goſpel miniſtry without a degree from college, any more than the Iſraelites could to the prieſthood, who were not of the ſeed of Aaron. And ſo great and good a man as Mr. Jonathan Edwards warned miniſters againſt breaking over this line; even in the ſame book wherein he ſays, "It has certainly ſometimes been ſo with our colleges, that inſtead of being places of the greateſt advantage for true piety, one cannot ſend a child thither, without great danger of his being infected as to his morals†." A profeſſor and a tutor of Harvard college, a little before this time, were convicted of groſs *immoralities*‡. And in 1738 a miniſter at Eaſtham, on Cape-Cod, was depoſed from his office for heterodoxy in principles; which affected others who were of his ſentiments ſo much, that Dr. Charles Chauncy publiſhed a ſermon upon liberty of conſcience in 1739. And on June 9, 1740, he met with ten other miniſters at Salem, and ſigned a paper in favour of that depoſed miniſter; who owned to the world, that his belief was, "That men can do that, upon the doing of which they ſhall certainly

* Original of evangelical churches, p. 291—297.
† Edwards's thoughts, 1742, p. 266, 350.
‡ Hobby's defence of Whitefield, p. 20.

certainly be ſaved; and that men's obedience is a cauſe of their juſtification*." And a miniſter of the capital town in New-Hampſhire ſays of the ſtate of the churches at this time, "No ſerious Chriſtian could behold it without a heavy heart, and ſcarce without a weeping eye; to ſee the ſolid ſubſtantial piety, for which our anceſtors were juſtly renowned, having long languiſhed under ſore decays, brought ſo low, and ſeemingly juſt ready to expire and give up the ghoſt. How did not only Pelaginiſm, but Arianiſm, Socinianiſm, and even Deiſm, and what is falſly called Free-thinking, here and there prevail! The inſtituted means of ſalvation, in many places, were but lightly eſteemed, and a horrid contempt was put upon the miniſtry of the word†." And in England Biſhop Butler ſaid in 1736, "It is come, I know not how, to be taken for granted, by many perſons, that Chriſtianity is not ſo much as a ſubject of enquiry; but that it is now at length diſcovered to be fictitious; and accordingly they treat it as if in the preſent age this were an agreed point among all people of diſcernment, and nothing remained but to ſet it up as a principal ſubject of mirth and ridicule, as it were by way of repriſals, for its having ſo long interrupted the pleaſures of the world‡."

II. But God ever works like himſelf, even ſo as to demonſtrate to all, that our help is in him, and not in any arm of fleſh. Mr. Stoddard's doctrine had greatly prevailed in this country before his deceaſe, February 11, 1729. His grandſon Edward was ſettled a colleague with him two years before;

* Oſborn's letter to the Convention at Boſton, July 7, 1743, p. 6, 23.

† Shurtleff's defence of Whitefield, p. 4.

‡ Whitefield's life, chap. 2.

who has ſince been a chief inſtrument of reformation in our times. A revival of religion began under his miniſtry, near the cloſe of 1733, which aroſe to ſuch an heighth in the ſpring of 1735, that he entertained hopes of about thirty converſions among his people in a week, for ſix weeks together; ſo that ſcarce a grown perſon in the place remained unaffected, and many children were effectually called. Our elder Clark of Wilbraham dates his converſion there, at that time, when about twelve years old. This work was powerful in ſeveral adjacent towns; and they had a leſs degree of it in a number of towns in Connecticut. Edwards's narrative of that work was much eſteemed in London, where a preface was wrote to it, by Dr. Watts and Dr. Guyſe. In the mean time two ſcholars were converted in the univerſity of Oxford, in 1733, who were furniſhed with ſuch gifts, as one of them with his tongue, the other by his pen, were greatly inſtrumental of reviving doctrinal and experimental Chriſtianity, through the whole Britiſh empire. Mr. George Whitefield, the firſt of them*, was ordained by the biſhop of Glouceſter, June 20, 1736; embarked for Georgia in December, 1737; returned through Ireland to England a year after; embarked again for America in Auguſt, 1739; and travelled and laboured with great ſucceſs, as far northward as New-York.

III. These things being heard of at Boſton, where religion was at a very low ebb, earneſt invitations were ſent him to come over and help them. He

* The other was Mr. James Hervey, who was born near Northampton, in England, February 26, 1714. And after a very pious and uſeful life in the miniſtry, and many excellent publications in the cauſe of true religion, he died near the place of his birth, December 25, 1758.

He therefore ſailed from South-Carolina, and landed at Newport, September 14, 1740, where he laboured three days to good purpoſe; and then travelled to Boſton, and as far eaſtward as York, to ſee the aged and pious Moody, who received him joyfully. After his return to Boſton, he went up an hundred miles weſtward to Northampton, to viſit our excellent Edwards; and from thence down by Hartford to New-Haven, and away through the ſouthern Colonies, until he embarked from Delaware Bay, December 1; when he ſaid, "O my ſoul, look back with gratitude on what the Lord hath done for thee in this excurſion. I think it is the ſeventy-fifth day ſince I arrived at Rhode-Iſland. My body was then weak, but the Lord has much renewed its ſtrength. I have been enabled to preach, I think, one hundred and ſeventy-five times in public, beſides exhorting frequently in private. I have travelled upwards of eight hundred miles, and gotten upwards of Seven Hundred Pounds ſterling, in goods, proviſions and money, for the Georgia orphans. Never did God vouchſafe me greater comforts. Never did I ſee ſuch a continuance of the divine preſence in the congregations to whom I have preached *." As he went through New-Jerſey he prevailed with Mr. Gilbert Tennent to take a tour into this field, which was then white unto

* *Collection of his journals*, p. 437. He was born in the city of Glouceſter, December 16, 1714; and after a life of inceſſant labours, in Europe and America, he died at Newbury-Port, in New-England, September 30, 1770. Mr. Tennent was born in Ireland, February 5, 1703. His father came over with his family, and was a Preſbyterian miniſter at Neſhaminy, in Pennſylvania; where he kept an academy, wherein a number of excellent miniſters were educated. Gilbert was ordained in 1726, and after a very uſeful life he died at Philadelphia, July 23, 1764, and Preſident Finley publiſhed ſome account of him.

unto the harveſt; who came to Boſton in December, and laboured in theſe parts through the winter. In their preaching, both of them laid open the dreadful evil and danger of hypocriſy as well as prophaneneſs, and ſpake as plainly againſt unconverted teachers and profeſſors as any other ſort of ſinners, and the effects were exceeding great and happy.

IV. Some indeed tried to perſuade the world, that the great change then made in the land was chiefly owing to the mechanical influence of their terrible words, geſtures, and moving ways of addreſs. Dr. Chauncy took much pains to put this colour upon things. But Mr. Thomas Prince ſays, "As to Mr. Whitefield's preaching, it was, in the manner, moving, earneſt, winning and melting; but the mechanical influence of this, according to the uſual operation of mechanical powers, in two or three days expired, with many in two or three hours; and I believe with moſt as ſoon as the ſound was over, or they got out of the houſe, or in the firſt converſation they fell into. But with the *manner* of his preaching, wherein he appeared to be *in earneſt*, he delivered thoſe *vital truths* which animated all our martyrs, made them triumph in flames, and led his hearers into the view of that vital, inward, active piety, which is the meer effect of that mighty ſupernatural operation of a Divine Power on the ſouls of men; which only will ſupport and carry through the ſharpeſt trials, and make meet for the inheritance of the ſaints in light." Of Mr. Tennent Mr. Prince ſays, "In private converſe with him, I found him to be a man of conſiderable parts and learning; free, gentle and condeſcending; and from his own various experience, reading the moſt noted writers on experimental divinity, as well as the

the ſcriptures, and converſing with many who had been awakened by his miniſtry in New-Jerſey, where he then lived, he ſeemed to have as deep an acquaintance with the experimental part of religion as any I have converſed with; and his preaching was as ſearching and rouſing as ever I heard. He ſeemed to have no regard to pleaſe the eyes of his hearers with agreeable geſtures, nor their ears with delivery, nor their fancy with language; but to aim directly at their hearts and conſciences, to lay open their ruinous deluſions, ſhew them their numerous, ſecret, hypocritical ſhifts in religion, and drive them out of every deceitful refuge wherein they made themſelves eaſy, with a form of godlineſs without the power*."

V. MARCH 2, 1741, Mr. Tennent preached his farewell ſermon at Boſton, and came round by Plymouth, Middleborough, Bridgewater, Taunton, Newport and Providence, and ſo returned home through Connecticut; in all which places his labours had ſome good effect. Religion was much revived in Boſton, Northampton, and places adjacent, in the fall and winter. In February and March, it was ſo in New-Haven, Hebron, and Lebanon-Crank. At their general election in May, Mr. Jedidiah Mills preached in a powerful manner at Hartford, from whence his fame ſpread extenſively. Proceeding eaſtward in his labours, Dr. Benjamin Lord, of Norwich, hearing when he was to preach at Lebanon, ventured to appoint a lecture for him in his own pulpit on Tueſday, June 2; but Mr. Mills was otherways engaged, and Mr. Wheelock came and preached it; and Mr. Mills came and preached there twice the Friday following. Theſe were the firſt that I heard of thoſe itinerant

* Chriſtian hiſtory, vol. 2, p. 384—387.

nerant miniſters. Such darkneſs had prevailed before, and many ſpake ſo freely of the light they now received, that the name of NEWLIGHTS was ſoon caſt upon them. But an old ſaint, who was converted under Mr. Flavel's miniſtry in England, but now lived at our Norwich, being aſked what ſhe thought of them? readily replied, "Newlights! It is new to ſuch as never ſaw it before; but it is what I knew above fifty years ago." The work prevailed very powerfully in Norwich through the ſummer. In Auguſt Mr. James Devenport from Long-Iſland came there, where Mr. Eleazer Wheelock and Mr. Benjamin Pomroy met him, and they laboured inceſſantly for three days, and a great reformation was wrought in the town; and in this and the following year, that glorious work of divine grace prevailed, in a greater or leſs degree, in moſt parts of New-England, New-York, New-Jerſey, Pennſylvania, and many other places. A meaſure of it was granted to the Baptiſts in Boſton, Leiceſter, Brimfield, Newport*, Groton and Wallingford; but as the work was begun and carried on almoſt wholly by Pedobaptiſts, from which denomination their fathers had ſuffered much, moſt of the Baptiſts were prejudiced againſt the work, and againſt the Calvinian doctrine by which it was promoted. Though I find that Elder Robert Feke, of Oyſterbay, on Long-Iſland, wrote to his brethren in Newport, November 29, 1741, and ſaid, "God has begun a glorious work among us, and I hope he will carry it on. There have been ſeventeen added to our little band in about three months." And the work was powerful among the Baptiſts in New-Jerſey and Pennſylvania.

VI. ALL

* Betwixt March and Auguſt, 1741, forty-eight perſons were baptized, and joined to the ſecond church in Newport.

VI. ALL allow that many imperfections attended this revival of religion; but the great difficulty has been to determine what they were, ſo as to encourage what was right, and to guard againſt all that was not ſo. Mr. Edwards delivered a ſermon upon this ſubject at New-Haven, in September, 1741, which he enlarged and publiſhed, with a preface by Mr. William Cooper, of Boſton; and it circulated through the nation, and was much eſteemed. But an anonymous anſwer to it was publiſhed at Boſton *, which condemned Mr. Cooper's ſaying "Some of the *learned* and *knowing* among men have had thoſe things revealed to them of the Father in heaven, which fleſh and blood doth not teach." This writer ſaid he could not gueſs who they ſhould be. To which it may be replied, that Mr. William Hobby, of Reading, one of the eleven ſigners to the paper in favour of Oſborn's Arminianiſm, Mr. Daniel Rogers, a tutor at Harvard college, and a number more of their teachers, freely confeſſed that they were blind guides, until they were ſavingly enlightened under Mr. Whitefield's preaching. Said writer diſcovered a great diſlike of Cooper's ſaying "Theſe fruits do not grow on *Arminian* ground:" And alſo of what Edwards wrote againſt unregenerate miniſters. As no law could take place in the Maſſachuſetts, without the conſent of Epiſcopalians, Preſbyterian miniſters could not carry their power ſo far there as in Connecticut, where the whole power of making laws was in one denomination, who therefore improved their power in the following manner.

VII. GOVERNOR Talcot died in October, while their Aſſembly was ſitting, who then elected a Cambridge

* This anſwer was commended, if not wrote, by Dr. Chauncy. See Chauncy's thoughts, p. 332.

bridge ſcholar in his ſtead, who was ſtrongly attached to their Saybrook eſtabliſhment. And, by an order from their legiſlature, a general Conſociation from all the counties of that Colony met at Guilford, November 24, and drew up ſundry reſolves; in one of which they ſay, "That for a miniſter to enter into another miniſter's pariſh, and preach or adminiſter the ſeals of the covenant, without the conſent of or in oppoſition to the ſettled miniſter of the pariſh, is *diſorderly*." Mr. Robbins of Branford had done ſo at New-Haven before, for which other miniſters had reproved him, and he had made ſome conceſſions to them therefor. In December he received a written requeſt from the Baptiſt miniſter in Wallingford, informing him, that Dr. Bellamy had preached in their ſociety to mutual ſatisfaction, and deſired that he would come and do the like. This requeſt appeared agreeable, and he appointed a meeting for the purpoſe, January 6, 1742. But, two days before the time, a deacon from Wallingford brought him two letters, the one ſigned by forty-two men of that town, the other ſigned by Jacob Hemenway and Iſaac Stiles, miniſters who lived by the way, requeſting him not to go and preach to thoſe Baptiſts, without giving any reaſon againſt it, but only their deſire. This did not appear to him a ſufficient reaſon for him to violate his promiſe, and to diſappoint a people who were deſirous of hearing the goſpel. He therefore went and preached two ſermons there, with an evident good effect. Yet for ſo doing he was complained of as a *diſorderly* perſon, to the Conſociation of New-Haven county, in their meeting of February 9. He enquired wherein the diſorder lay, ſeeing he preached in a particular ſociety, at the written requeſt of their paſtor? It was anſwered, that ſaid ſociety was

not

not a lawful ſociety, but a diſorderly company. He replied, that Governor Talcot had adviſed Wallingford collectors not to diſtrain miniſterial taxes from them; and the authority ſent them annual proclamations for faſts and thankſgivings, as to other ſocieties. But as the Conſociation thought themſelves better judges of thoſe matters than civil rulers were, they expelled Robins from their claſſical court for preaching to thoſe Baptiſts*. A ſon of Wallingford miniſter was then a tutor in Yale college, of which David Brainard was a member; and the tutor having prayed more pathetically than uſual with the ſcholars, one of Brainard's intimates aſked him what he then thought of the tutor? *He has no more grace than this chair*, ſaid Brainard. The ſentence was overheard, and carried to the rulers of the college; though the accuſer could not tell who it was againſt. However they extorted this from his friends, and expelled Brainard out of the college juſt about the time that Robins was expelled from their Conſociation‖. And more effectually to guard againſt ſuch diſorders for the future, a draught of a law was made, and miniſters conveyed it into the Legiſlature at Hartford, in their ſeſſion of May 13; who were not only prevailed with to paſs it, but alſo to direct the heads of their college not to ſuffer any ſcholars therein who refuſed to obey it‡.

VIII. "*An act for regulating abuſes, and correcting diſorders in eccleſiaſtical affairs.*

"WHEREAS this Aſſembly did by their act, made in the ſeventh year of the reign of her late Majeſty

* His narrative, p. 1—6.

‖ Brainard's life, p. 20.

‡ See their reaſons for expelling the Cleavelands, in 1744. Col. Hezekiah Huntington told me, that this law was prepared and ſent in by miniſters.

Queen Anne, eſtabliſh and confirm a confeſſion of faith, and an agreement for eccleſiaſtical diſcipline, made at Saybrook Anno Domini 1708, by the reverend elders, and meſſengers delegated by the churches in this Colony for that purpoſe; under which eſtabliſhment his Majeſty's ſubjects, inhabiting in this Colony, have enjoyed great peace and quietneſs, until of late ſundry perſons have been guilty of diſorderly and irregular practices; whereupon this Aſſembly, in October laſt, did direct to the calling of a General Conſociation, to ſet at Guilford in November laſt, which ſaid Conſociation was convened accordingly; at which Convention it was endeavoured to prevent the growing diſorders amongſt miniſters, that have been ordained or licenced by the Aſſociations in this government to preach; and likewiſe to prevent diviſions and diſorders among the churches and eccleſiaſtical ſocieties, ſettled by order of this Aſſembly. Notwithſtanding which, divers of the miniſters, ordained as aforeſaid, and others licenced to preach by ſome of the Aſſociations allowed by law, have taken upon them, without any lawful call, to go into pariſhes immediately under the care of other miniſters, and there to preach to and teach the people*; and alſo ſundry perſons, ſome of whom are very illiterate, and have no eccleſiaſtical character or authority whatſoever to preach or teach, have taken upon them publicly to teach and exhort the people in matters of religion, both as to doctrine and practice; which practices have a tendency to make diviſions and contentions among the people in

* Beſide thoſe before named, Mr. Samuel Buell travelled and laboured ſucceſsfully through the country, who has ſince enjoyed great bleſſings in his paſtoral labours at Eaſt-Hampton, on Long-Iſland. Mr. James Sprout, born in Middleborough, ſince miniſter in Philadelphia, was another of thoſe itinerant preachers.

in this Colony, and to deſtroy the eccleſiaſtical conſtitution eſtabliſhed by the laws of this government, and likewiſe to hinder the growth and increaſe of vital piety and godlineſs in theſe churches, and alſo to introduce unqualified perſons into the miniſtry; and more eſpecially where one Aſſociation doth intermeddle with affairs that by the platform and agreement aboveſaid, made at Saybrook aforeſaid, are properly within the province and juriſdiction of another Aſſociation; as by licencing perſons to preach, and ordaining miniſters. *Therefore,*

"*BE it enacted by the Governor, Council and Repreſentatives in General Court aſſembled, and by the authority of the ſame,* that if any ordained miniſter, or other perſon licenced as aforeſaid to preach, ſhall enter into any pariſh not immediately under his charge, and ſhall there preach or exhort the people, ſhall be denied and ſecluded the benefit of any law of this Colony, made for the ſupport and encouragement of the goſpel miniſtry, except ſuch ordained miniſter or licenced perſon ſhall be expreſsly invited and deſired ſo to enter into ſuch other pariſh, and there to preach and exhort the people, either by the ſettled miniſter and major part of the church in ſaid pariſh, or, in caſe there be no ſettled miniſter, then by the church or ſociety within ſuch pariſh.

"*AND it is further enacted by the authority aforeſaid,* that if any Aſſociation of miniſters ſhall undertake to examine or licence any candidate for the goſpel miniſtry, or aſſume to themſelves the deciſion of any controverſy, or as an Aſſociation to counſel or adviſe in any affair that by the platform or agreement above mentioned is properly within the province and juriſdiction of any other Aſſociation, then and in ſuch caſe every member that ſhall be preſent in ſuch Aſſociation, ſo licencing, deciding or counſelling,

ling, ſhall be each and every of them denied and ſecluded the benefit of any law in this Colony, made for the ſupport and encouragement of the goſpel miniſtry.

"*AND it is further enacted*, that if any miniſter or miniſters, contrary to the force, intent and meaning of this act, ſhall preſume to preach in any pariſh not under his immediate care and charge, the miniſter of the pariſh where he ſhall ſo offend, or the civil authority, or any two of the committee of ſuch pariſh, ſhall give information thereof in writing, under their hands, to the clerk of the pariſh, or ſociety where ſuch offending miniſter doth belong, which clerk ſhall receive ſuch information, and lodge and keep the ſame on file in his office; and no Aſſiſtant or Juſtice of the Peace in this Colony ſhall ſign any warrant for the collecting any miniſter's rate, without firſt receiving a certificate from the clerk of the ſociety or pariſh where ſuch rate is to be collected, that no ſuch information as is above mentioned hath been received by him, or lodged in his office.

"*AND it is further enacted*, that if any perſon whatſoever, that is not a ſettled and ordained miniſter, ſhall go into any pariſh, and without the expreſs deſire and invitation of the ſettled miniſter of ſuch pariſh, if any there be, and the major part of the church, or if there be no ſuch ſettled miniſter, without the expreſs deſire of the church or congregation within ſuch pariſh, publicly preach and exhort the people, ſhall for every ſuch offence, upon complaint made thereof to any Aſſiſtant or Juſtice of the Peace, be bound to his peaceable and good behaviour until the next County Court, in that county where the offence ſhall be committed, by ſaid Aſſiſtant or Juſtice of the Peace, in the penal

penal ſum of One Hundred Pounds lawful money, that he or they will not again offend in like kind; and the ſaid County Court may, if they ſee meet, further bind the perſon or perſons offending as aforeſaid to their peaceable and good behaviour, during the pleaſure of ſaid Court.

"*AND it is further enacted*, that if any foreigner or ſtranger, that is not an inhabitant within this Colony, including as well ſuch perſons that have no eccleſiaſtical character or licence to preach, as ſuch as have received ordination or licence to preach by any Aſſociation or Preſbytery, ſhall preſume to preach, teach or publicly exhort, in any town or ſociety within this Colony, without the deſire and licence of the ſettled miniſter and the major part of the church of ſaid town or ſociety, or at the call and deſire of the church and inhabitants of ſuch town or ſociety, provided that it ſo happen that there is no ſettled miniſter there, that every ſuch preacher, teacher or exhorter, ſhall be ſent as a vagrant perſon, by warrant from any one Aſſiſtant or Juſtice of the Peace, from conſtable to conſtable, out of the bounds of this Colony."

IX. THE reader may here ſee how catholic thoſe miniſters were, and how concerned to preſerve union and order in every part of that Colony, and it doubtleſs would have extended much further, had their power been equal to their inclinations. But there were three things which lay much in their way. They could not command the thoughts of the people, nor the pens of miniſters in other governments, and were unable to move their own rulers to carry violence ſo far as they did their cenſures. The ſecond itinerant miniſter, whom they accuſed of making diviſions and diſturbances, publiſhed a ſermon this year, which had

had an extenſive circulation; wherein he ſays, "The proper cauſe of ſinful diviſions, is the enmity againſt God and holineſs, which is in the hearts of natural men, of every order; being ſtirred up by the devil, and their own proud and ſelfiſh luſts. And very often natural men, who are the proper cauſe of ſuch diviſions, deal with God's ſervants as Potipher's wife did by Joſeph; they lay the blame of their own wickedneſs at their doors, and make a loud cry." And as their common talk was, that to go over pariſh lines to meeting was going out of God's way, ſo that if any thought they got good thereby, they were deceived, Mr. Tennent ſays, "There are three monſtrous ingredients in this objection, namely, a begging the queſtion in debate, raſh judging, and limiting of God." For they who would confine religious worſhip to lines which men have drawn, aſſume a power which is juſtly queſtioned, and thereby attempt to limit God; and how raſh is it to judge all thoſe to be deceived who refuſe a tame ſubmiſſion to ſuch uſurpations*! Mr. Edwards alſo now obſerved, that, "If miniſters preach never ſo good doctrine, and are never ſo laborious in their work, yet if at ſuch a day as this they ſhew to their people that they are not well affected to this work, they will be very likely to do their people a great deal more hurt than good; for the very fame of ſuch a great and extraordinary work of God, if their people were ſuffered to believe it to be his, and the example of other towns, together with the preaching they might hear occaſionally, would be likely to have a much greater influence upon the minds of their people, to awaken and animate

* Tennent's ſermon on the *great danger of an unconverted miniſtry*, p. 16, 18.

animate them in religion, than all their labours with them. And we that are miniſters, by looking on this work, from year to year, with a diſpleaſed countenance, ſhall effectually keep the ſheep from their paſture, inſtead of doing the part of ſhepherds, by feeding them; and our people had a great deal better be without any ſettled miniſter at all, at ſuch a day as this.—Thoſe awful words of Chriſt to the Jewiſh fathers ſhould be conſidered by us, Mat. xxiii. 13. *Wo unto you, for you ſhut up the kingdom of heaven; ye neither go in yourſelves, neither ſuffer ye them that are entering to go in.* The times of Chriſt's remarkably appearing in behalf of his church, to revive religion, and advance his kingdom in the world, are often ſpoken of in the prophecies of ſcripture, as times wherein he will remarkably execute judgment on ſuch miniſters or ſhepherds as do not feed the flock, but hinder their being fed, and ſo deliver his flock from them; as Jer. xxiii. Ezek. xxxiv. Zech. x. Iſai. lvi. &c*."

How weighty and ſolemn are theſe conſiderations! yet the imperfections and miſtakes of the real ſervants of Chriſt, and the hypocriſy and apoſtaſy of others, have often been catched at as a ſhield againſt the authority of truth in theſe reſpects; as the following facts will further ſhew.

* Edwards's thoughts, 1742, p. 133—135.

CHAP. VIII.

CHAP. VIII.

1. Miſtakes and Enthuſiaſms of learned Miniſters. 2. The Uſe that was made thereof againſt true Religion and Liberty. 3. Ill Treatment of the Baptiſts. 4. And of the late Work in general. 5. Which Treatment was carried to the greateſt Height in Connecticut. 6. Stars ſwept down thereby.

I. MR. Devenport derived his deſcent from the firſt miniſter of New-Haven, and was ſon of a miniſter of Stamford, in Fairfield county. He and Mr. Daniel Bliſs, a lively miniſter at Concord, took their firſt degrees at Yale college in 1732, as Mr. Wheelock and Mr. Pomroy did theirs in 1733, and Timothy Allen his in 1736; who all dated their converſions before theſe times. Allen was ordained at Weſt-Haven; but upon uttering ſome unguarded expreſſions, about how unprofitable the ſcriptures were to the unregenerate, their Conſociation depoſed him from his office. Devenport was an inſtrument of great awakenings in many places; and no man before him ever laboured to ſo good purpoſe as he did, among the Mohegan and Nyantic Indians; from whence alſo ſprang a great work among the Narraganſets*. But

* The Commiſſioners at Boſton, for ſending out and ſupporting miſſionaries among the Indians, ſent Mr. Joſeph Park to Weſterly,

But having always lived among miniſters who claimed a like power in the Chriſtian church, as the ſeed of Aaron had in that of the Jews; and being deeply ſenſible of the miſchiefs which unconverted teachers do to precious ſouls, he imbibed a ſtrong perſuaſion, that it was his duy to examine the miniſters wherever he came, and to warn the people againſt hearing ſuch as he judged to be blind guides. For theſe things he was taken up and brought before Connecticut Legiſlature, who ſent him out of their Colony. Separations were hereby cauſed at New-London, New-Haven, and Milford. And it was impreſſed upon ſundry minds, that they muſt *go their way forth*, and erect a *ſhepherd's tent* at New-London, to educate perſons in for the miniſtry. Such a ſchool was therefore opened, to which a number reſorted, wherein Allen preſided. And though he was once impriſoned for preaching, and others ſuffered much, it did but animate them the more. And Devenport muſt needs go and preach to the great metropolis of New-England. Upon his arrival he had long conferences with the miniſters of Boſton and Charleſtown; until on July 1,

X 1742,

Weſterly, upon that buſineſs, in 1733. In 1738 the eaſt part of that town, where the Narraganſets chiefly reſided, was ſet off by the name of Charleſtown. But in nine years, he was not able to bring one Engliſh family, in thoſe two towns, to ſet up family worſhip; nor above a dozen Indians to attend on his miniſtry: Until, being greatly enlightened himſelf, by means of thoſe itinerant miniſters, a revival began among his people, and a church of 14 Engliſh members was formed in May, 1742; which was ſucceeded with ſo great a work among the Indians the next year, as brought many of them into that church, and an hundred of them uſually to attend on his miniſtry. *Chriſtian hiſtory*, vol. 1, p. 202—210. Mr. Park died there March 1, 1777.

Stephen Babcock, a member of that church, became the paſtor of a Baptiſt church in 1750, and continued ſo until his death in 1775.

1742, moſt of them ſigned a declaration, wherein they ſaid, "He appears to us to be truly pious, and we hope God has uſed him as an inſtrument of good to many ſouls; yet we judge it our duty to bear teſtimony againſt the following particulars. 1. His being acted much by ſudden *impulſes*. 2. His judging ſome miniſters in Long-Iſland and New-England to be unconverted; and thinking himſelf called of God to *demand* of his brethren, from place to place, an account of their regenerate ſtate, when or in what manner the Holy Spirit wrought upon and renewed them. 3. His going with his friends, ſinging through the ſtreets and highways, to and from the houſes of worſhip, on Lord's days and other days*. 4. His encouraging private brethren to pray and exhort in aſſemblies gathered for that purpoſe. We judge it therefore our preſent duty not to invite him into our places of public worſhip, as otherwiſe we might have readily done." But this did not prevent his going to examine each of them, and then declaring publicly againſt them; naming ſome as unconverted, and comparing others to Jehoſaphat in Ahab's army, and calling the people to ſeparate from them‖. He proceeded farther eaſtward in this way, and upon his return to Boſton in Auguſt he was impriſoned and brought upon trial in Court, for ſlandering their miniſters, but the jury judged him to be *non compos mentis*, and ſo acquitted him ¶. Separations hereupon took place in Boſton, Ipſwich and Newbury. After his return to Long-Iſland, he was brought over to New-London; where

* In this way of ſinging he was almoſt entirely ſingular, even from thoſe who were otherwiſe engaged with him in the general cauſe.

‖ Chriſtian hiſtory, vol. 2, p. 406—408.

¶ Chauncy's thoughts, p. 164, 165.

where he and others were carried ſo far, under a notion of purging away all error, as to burn a conſiderable pile of books, that in their view were erroneous, near the town wharff, on Lord's day, March 6, 1743, juſt as people were returning from public worſhip. Norcott upon baptiſm was caſt into the pile, but was catched out by another hand. The next day, under a conceit of deſtroying idolatry, they collected a large heap of fine cloaths and ornaments, but were hindered from burning of them, partly by a gentleman's coming to Devenport, and aſſuring him, that if all he had idolized muſt be burnt, he muſt burn him firſt. Great confuſion was cauſed by theſe things, and the ſhepherd's tent broke up ſoon after*.

II. THOSE who teach God's fear by the precepts of men, *watch for iniquity*, Iſaiah xxix. 13, 20. And they had now got ſo much of it, as emboldened them to appear very openly againſt the work in this land. The annual convention of miniſters at Boſton, May 25, publiſhed their teſtimony upon this ſubject; and eſpecially againſt "The ſpirit and practice of ſeparation, from the particular flocks to which perſons belong, to join with and ſupport *lay-exhorters or itinerants*†." This moved ſome friends to the late revival to publiſh an invitation, in the Boſton papers, to all miniſters who had favourable thoughts of that work, to meet there the day after the enſuing commencement at Cambridge, to give their minds concerning it; and ſuch as could not well come, were deſired to ſend in their thoughts in writing. In anſwer to this

* March 5, 1743, Mr. Prince and his ſon began a weekly publication, and continued it for two years, under the name of *The Chriſtian Hiſtory*; which is very ſerviceable in ours.

† Chauncy's thoughts, p. 299.

this requeſt, about ninety miniſters met at Boſton, July 7, and elected a committee, to draw up a teſtimony and letter of advice to the churches, to be laid before them next morning. But twenty of them went off, and did not ſtay to hear it. Of thoſe who ſtayed, forty-four ſigned it without reſerve; wherein they teſtify, that a glorious work of divine grace had been wrought in this land, in the three preceding years; but adviſe, "That *laymen* do not invade the miniſterial office, and, under a pretence of exhorting, ſet up preaching; which (ſay they) is very contrary to goſpel order, and tends to introduce errors and confuſion into the churches. That miniſters do not invade the province of others, and, *in ordinary caſes*, preach in another's pariſh without his knowledge, and againſt his conſent." Fifteen more ſigned it, with an exception in theſe words, viz. "We concur with the teſtimony, for the ſubſtance of it, excepting that article of itinerancy, or miniſters and others intruding into other miniſters pariſhes without their conſent, which *great diſorder* we apprehend not ſufficiently teſtified againſt therein." At the head of theſe was Dr. Colman; who twelve years before called it a fret of zeal, and a narrow party ſpirit, in the apoſtle John, to deſire our Saviour himſelf to forbid others, becauſe, ſaid John, *they follow not us*. The other ſigners to this exception were Checkley and Eliot of Boſton, Fowle of Hingham, Baxter of Medfield, Carpenter of Hull, Bradſtreet of Marblehead, Abbot and Prentice of Charleſtown, Turell of Medford, Dorr of Mendon, Parkman of Weſtborough, Eells of Scituate, Baſs of Hanover, and Maccarty of Kingſton. On the other hand, nine miniſters were ſenſible that *in many caſes* miniſters might preach in the pariſhes of others without their

their conſent, and that, "This liberty cannot be invaded or denied, without inhumanly invading the *eſſential rights of conſcience*." Theſe were Sewall and Prince of Boſton, Diman of Salem, Chipman of Beverly, Emerſon of Topsfield, Emerſon of Malden, Goddard of Spencer, Weld of Attleborough, and Cotton of Providence*. Others were ſo much ſet againſt that liberty, as to procure the publication of the before-cited Connecticut law in a Boſton news-paper†. And it was evidently the want of power, that prevented the enacting of ſuch laws in the Maſſachuſetts; notwithſtanding all the obligations they were under to the Hollis family. Mr. Iſaac Hollis, a pious Baptiſt miniſter near London, was now ſending over liberal communications, towards chriſtianizing the Stockbridge Indians; as Dr. Colman himſelf informs us‡. Yet how were the Baptiſts treated here!

III. Mr. James Bound, John Dabny, and Thomas Boucher, from Britain, with John Proctor, a town ſchool-maſter in Boſton, members of the Baptiſt church there, withdrew from it, and began another church in July; and Mr. Ephraim Bound (ſon to James) was ordained their paſtor, September 7, 1743. The reaſons of their withdraw were becauſe Mr. Condy taught Arminian doctrine, contrary to the original principles of the church, and alſo oppoſed the late work of God in the land. Philip Freeman, member of a Baptiſt church in London, came over to Boſton, and joined to that new church; who ſent an account of their principles and conduct to Dr. John Gill, which obtained his approbation, and a conſiderable preſent was ſent them

* Chriſtian hiſtory, vol. 1, p. 155—166, 198.
† Chauncy's thoughts, p. 41.
‡ Chriſtian hiſtory, vol. 1, p. 150.

them from London. The increaſe of the Baptiſts in New-Jerſey ſoon after moved Mr. Jonathan Dickinſon, the firſt Preſident of their college, to write a dialogue upon infant baptiſm. It was printed both at New-York and Boſton in 1746, but without any name to it. Mr. Freeman ſent one of them to Dr. Gill, with a requeſt that he would anſwer it. He did ſo in 1749, and began with theſe words, viz. "Many being converted under the miniſtry of the word in New-England, and enlightened into the ordinance of believers baptiſm, whereby the churches of the Baptiſt perſuaſion at Boſton and in the country have been encreaſed, has alarmed the Pedobaptiſt miniſters of that Colony; who have applied to one Mr. Dickinſon, a country miniſter, who, as my correſpondent informs me, has wrote with ſome ſucceſs againſt the Arminians, to write in favour of infant ſprinkling." In 1752 Mr. Clark (who wrote againſt Walton twenty years before) publiſhed a reply to Gill, wherein he ſaid, "In this introductory paſſage, there are ſeveral groſs miſtakes in fact, or manifeſt *untruths*." And he takes up above five pages, in trying to prove this charge; thinking, undoubtedly, that if he could prove him to be a falſe man in his introduction, his book might more eaſily be anſwered, in the opinion of moſt; who generally have *men's perſons in admiration becauſe of advantage*. He allows that Dickinſon wrote againſt the *Sectaries*, and names as ſuch the Quakers, Anabaptiſts, Arminians and Antinomians; not mentioning that himſelf was one of the eleven ſigners of the paper in favour of Oſborn's Arminianiſm in 1740. The proofs for his charge againſt Gill conſiſt in limiting his words to the Maſſachuſetts, inſtead of all New-England, and denying any great increaſe of the Baptiſts, ſo as to alarm the miniſters; or that any

any in or near Boſton ſent to Dickinſon to write upon that ſubject, [which was not affirmed.] But what ſhall we think of Clark? Gill was never here, and therefore might eaſily miſtake the geography of the country; but his accuſer was born and educated in it; and he ſays of that new church, "They have ſet up an illiterate teacher. To this ſeparate ſociety there have been, indeed, ſome few enthuſiaſts and ſeparatiſts from ſome churches in Boſton, and from the adjacent parts of the country, who have joined themſelves.—Beſides—I know of no other Baptiſt church, except at the out-ſkirts of the Province towards Rhode-Iſland and Providence, where I am informed there are two or three ſocieties that call themſelves Baptiſt churches*." Whereas, at the time when he wrote thus, there were two Baptiſt churches in Boſton, two in Swanzey, two in Reboboth, and one in each of the towns of Bellingham, Sutton, Leiceſter, Sturbridge, Brimfield and Springfield. And how guilty muſt a man be, thus to miſrepreſent the ſtate of his own Province, in order to fix an odium upon a gentleman who never was in it! He unjuſtly accuſed him of holding converſion to be to a particular ſect; but how many reproachful names does himſelf caſt upon diſſenters from his own ſect? Arminians is one of thoſe names; whereas the largeſt addition to ſaid church in Boſton, that they had received from any one town in the country, was of a number of judicious Chriſtians in Medfield, who refuſed to join in the ſettlement of an Arminian miniſter there, who has ſince been forced to reſign his office, becauſe of his having a child by his maid. After the great earthquake November 18, 1755, Mr. Bound's lectures were flocked to from all parts of the town; and ſuch

* Clark againſt Gill, p. 1—6.

ſuch a bleſſing was granted upon his miniſtry, that they had an hundred communicants in that church. His life was unblemiſhed and exemplary, until he died with great peace in his own ſoul, and much lamented by others, June 18, 1765.

IV. In 1742, Mr. Edwards publiſhed his thoughts, in five parts; ſhewing that the work going on in the land was a glorious work of God; the duty of all to acknowledge and promote it, and the great danger of the contrary; wherein its friends had been injuriouſly blamed; what ought to be corrected among them, and what poſitively ought to be done to promote the work. Upon a view of which Dr. Chauncy ſet off and travelled through New-England, New-York and New-Jerſey, to collect matter for an anſwer to him, which was publiſhed this year, with the names of three Governors, two Lieut. Governors, many Counſellors, and in all above ſeven hundred men as ſubſcribers for it. Above 300 pages in the book are taken up upon things that he ſaid were of a bad and dangerous tendency in the land. He ranks them under eight heads, namely, itinerant preaching, great terrors, ſudden light and joy, cenſuring of others, impulſes, confounding of many exerciſes together, and a ſpirit of error. Under which laſt head, eight particulars are named, viz. Holding that unconverted miniſters could not convert others, ſeparations, preſumptuous depending upon the aſſiſtance of the Spirit, aſſurance of converſion, and of the time of it, vilifying good works, and not allowing ſanctification to be an evidence of juſtification. And leſt all the bad ſtories he had raked together, from every part of America, ſhould fail of cloathing theſe points with a garb ſufficiently odious, a number are added thereto

thereto from Europe, and ſome from the dregs of Popery. A touch upon what he ſays, about itinerant preaching, and raſh judging, may give ſome idea how ſtrong his arguments were.—Againſt the former he brings 2 Theſ. iii. 10—15, 1 Pet. iv. 15, and 2 Cor. x. 12—17; which condemn the eating of other men's bread for naught, acting as buſy-bodies in other men's matters, and the commending of themſelves, and going into another man's line, of things made ready to our hands. But by whom is this line drawn? by God or man? Teachers who are fond of ſupport by tax and compulſion, and promote the uſe of violence towards ſuch as *follow not them*, moſt evidently fall under the laſh of theſe ſcriptures. According to Chauncy, raſh and uncharitable judging was begun in theſe parts by Mr. Whitefield, "Who ſeldom preached, but he had ſomething or other in his ſermon againſt unconverted miniſters." And why was this uncharitable? Becauſe Dr. Cotton Mather ſaid, "No man becomes a miniſter or a communicant in our churches, until he hath been ſeverely examined about his *regeneration*, as well as converſation*." When was it ſo? This teſtimony was given in 1696; and how clearly does it prove, that their practice remained the ſame in 1740! His other arguments are alike concluſive.

V. CONNECTICUT had a more powerful way of reaſoning. In October, 1742, they forbid the erection of any public place of education, without licence from authority; and alſo debarred all teachers from any benefit of their laws for their ſupport, who had not been graduated by ſome Proteſtant college. And on February 16 they iſſued a proclamation for a general faſt, to be on April 13, 1743,

* Chauncy's thoughts, p. 42, 140, 142.

to deprecate the judgments of heaven, for their iniquities; "Particularly the great neglect and contempt of the goſpel and the miniſtry thereof, and the prevailing of a ſpirit of error, diſorder, unpeaceableneſs, pride, bitterneſs, uncharitableneſs, cenſoriouſneſs, diſobedience, calumniating and reviling of authority; diviſions, contentions, ſeparations and confuſions in churches; injuſtice, idleneſs, evil-ſpeaking, laſciviouſneſs, and all other vices and impieties which abound among us†:" Which was iſſued early enough to have influence in the choice of their Legiſlature. Col. Hezekiah Huntington had been a member of their Council for three years; but at their election at Hartford, May 12, he was left out of it; and John Bulkley, Eſq; was choſen in his ſtead, who ſent Zebulon Waterman and others, of Colcheſter, to Hartford gaol the ſummer before, for teaching and exhorting at a religious meeting. Waterman was ſoon after ordained the paſtor of a Baptiſt church in Colcheſter. It was well known that Huntington was much engaged in the late revival of religion in the land, and that he openly teſtified againſt the perſecutions therein. King William's act of toleration was adopted in Connecticut, in May, 1708, juſt before their Saybrook ſcheme was formed. But becauſe it had been extended, by their County Court, to the diſſenters in New-Haven and Milford, it was now repealed, with a declaration, "That thoſe commonly called Preſbyterians or Congregationaliſts ſhall not take benefit of ſaid law." And it was enacted, that none of other denominations ſhould, for the future, be allowed the privileges of diſſenters, but ſuch as ſhould "Before the Aſſembly take the oaths and ſubſcribe the declaration

† Ibid, p. 295, 296.

declaration provided in the act of Parliament, in caſes of like nature." And as Mr. John Owen, of Groton, was complained of, for having in April before preached againſt ſuch proceedings, an order was given out to bring him before the Aſſembly, to anſwer therefor, at their next ſeſſion. In the mean time a Preſbyterian miniſter came from New-Jerſey, and preached at Milford; for which he was taken up on a Saturday. And as they ſpake of confining him until Monday, he ſaid, "Sir, I hope you will not confine me from preaching Chriſt." *That is what we took you up for*, ſaid the Judge. He was carried, as a *vagrant* perſon, out of that Colony; but then he returned and preached at New-Haven. And as the people there had got into the way of concealing their miniſters on week days, an officer came and ſeized this miniſter, at their meeting-houſe door, on a Lord's day morning, and carried him off. Yet when he was let go, he returned again and preached to the people, an account of which being laid before the Aſſembly at New-Haven, of October 13, they added another act, which required miniſters who ſhould ſo return to pay the coſt of their tranſportation, and to be committed until they ſhould give an Hundred Pounds bond, not to offend again in like kind. Such were their proceedings againſt a precious miniſter of Chriſt; whoſe name and title ſince is, Samuel Finley, D. D. Preſident of New-Jerſey college.

VI. As Mr. Owen avoided being taken, and like complaints were exhibited againſt Mr. Pomroy, orders were given to arreſt them both, and to bring them to the next ſeſſion of their Aſſembly. Accordingly, at their meeting at Hartford, May 10, 1744, Owen came with an humble confeſſion, and

and they forgave him, he paying coſts. Pomroy was brought, and ſtood trial for ſome hours; but was condemned, and ordered to be committed till he would pay the coſts, and bind himſelf for one year, in a recognizance of Fifty Pounds, not to offend again in like manner. He then yielded to their requirements. And on July 28 Mr. Devenport ſigned a retraction of the four articles which were condemned at Boſton, and of his enthuſiaſms at New-London; which was ſent to Mr. Prince to publiſh with all ſpeed. He did ſo, but prefixed thereto an extract from an ancient author, who ſays, "It is no uncommon thing for thoſe who love God in ſincerity, through impatience with the bold impieties of wicked men, to tranſgreſs the limits of a regular zeal. And when this impatience betrays them into miſtakes, for which they meet with too ſevere treatment, either from friends, or from men in power; inſtead of correcting only the irregular ſallies of their zeal, they are apt to ſuppreſs the moſt regular and laudable expreſſions of it, and become lukewarm and indifferent*." The ſequel will demonſtrate the propriety of this remark.

In January Elder Timothy Packom and Daniel Greene viſited their Baptiſt brethren at New-London and Saybrook, and baptized ſome perſons at each place. At Saybrook the people laid ſome things acroſs a ſtream on a Lord's day, to raiſe the water to baptize in. Falſe charges were added to what was fact in the caſe; and ſaid two teachers, and ſeveral other perſons, were ſeized and impriſoned at New-London; one of whom was a woman with a child at her breaſt. But the above evils were well expoſed in a piece, intituled, *The eſſential rights of Proteſtants*; dated March 30, 1744. Col. Eliſha Williams,

* Chriſtian hiſtory, vol. 2, p. 234—240.

Williams, the beſt Preſident they ever had at Yale college, was the undoubted author of it; though being printed at Boſton, it was ſent as a letter from thence to a friend in Connecticut. Having deſcribed the origin, deſign and limits of civil government, he ſays, "Man by his conſtitution, as he is a reaſonable being, capable of the knowledge of his MAKER, is a moral and accountable being; and therefore, as every one is accountable for himſelf, he muſt reaſon, judge and determine for himſelf. That faith and practice which depend on the judgment and choice of any other perſon, and not on the perſon's own judgment and choice, may paſs for religion in the ſynagogue of Satan, whoſe tenet is that ignorance is the mother of devotion; but with no underſtanding Proteſtant will it paſs for any religion at all.——Eccleſiaſtical officers, as they are Chriſt's officers, they have authority to teach men his mind in things pertaining to his kingdom; ſo they have no authority to teach men any thing but the mind and will of Chriſt. It is a truth that ſhines with a meridian brightneſs, that whatever is not contained in a commiſſion, is out of it and excluded by it; and the teaching *his laws only* being contained in the commiſſion, what is not his law is out of it, and by that commiſſion they are excluded from teaching it, or forbid by it*." And from hence he plainly expoſed their perſecuting laws and meaſures. But though this was printed at Boſton, and diſperſed in Connecticut, yet the ruling party had no eyes to ſee it, nor ears to hear it. We muſt maintain the *good old way*, was their cry, although what they ſo called was diametrically oppoſite to the firſt principles of New-England. And though for reaſons before given the Maſſachuſetts could not

* Eſſential rights, p. 8, 17.

not go ſo far as Connecticut did, yet their diſpoſition is conſpicuous in what follows.

Mr. Peter Thatcher was the third miniſter of Middleborough, where he began to preach in September, 1707, and he continued their paſtor until his joyful exit, April 22, 1744. He was much affected with Mr. Tennent's preaching in theſe parts, and laboured earneſtly for a reformation among his people, but with much ſorrow of heart, until ſuch a bleſſing was granted at a meeting, November 23, 1741, that about an hundred perſons, profeſſors and others, were greatly awakened; and the enſuing harveſt was ſo great, that when he died they had three hundred and forty-three communicants, above half of whom were males*. The church met ſoon after, and elected a committee to manage their affairs, and in particular to provide preaching for them; but the pariſh committee, who were men of influence in the town†, were very oppoſite to the late work among them, and they counteracted the church in that matter. And when the church had voted to hear Mr. Silvanus Conant four ſabbaths upon probation, they went and got another man to ſupply the pulpit the ſame days, the firſt of which was September 9; when Conant was permitted to preach in the afternoon. But on September 13 they received the following advice from a Council at Duxbury, viz. "That though it belongs to the church to lead the congregation in the choice and call of a miniſter to office, that it is the right, as it has been the cuſtom of the ſeveral pariſhes (when deſtitute of a miniſter) to apply, by a committee choſen by the whole pariſh, to ſuch perſon or

* Chriſtian hiſtory, vol. 2, p. 77—79.

† Mr. Jacob Thompſon, Benjamin White, Eſq; and Capt. Ebenezer Morton.

or perſons as ſhall be recommended to them for that purpoſe; and we adviſe the gentlemen, and all concerned, to follow this laudable cuſtom." The miniſters who gave this advice were Eels of Scituate, Gay of Hingham, Lewis of Pembroke, Baſs of Hanover, Perkins and Angier of Bridgewater*. And by theſe means the body of the church were ſhut out of their meeting-houſe, with the miniſter they choſe; and had no better place than a barn to meet in, until they built another houſe. And leſs than a quarter of the church called themſelves the ſtanding part, held the old houſe, and went on and ſettled another miniſter. Mr. Conant was ordained, according to their laws, by the advice of a Council of five churches, March 28, 1745; and miniſtered there to good purpoſe, until his deceaſe, December 7, 1777. Mr. John Cotton, then of Halifax, now of Plymouth, publiſhed a narrative of theſe tranſactions; to which a virulent anſwer was returned; both in 1746. Judge Oliver was of that oppoſing party; and he and others had ſuch influence at Boſton, that the church could not have any proper hearing there for about four years. But when that was once granted, and every man in the pariſh had liberty to chooſe for himſelf, and each to ſupport the miniſter he choſe, the oppoſers were ſoon ſick of their miniſter, and in leſs than ten years he was diſmiſſed, and their ſociety was ſoon after diſſolved; leaving a loud warning to all againſt empowering the world to controul the church about ſoul-guides.

* Morton againſt Cotton, p. 14, 15.

CHAP. IX.

CHAP. IX.

1. A Deliverer raiſed up in an unlikely Way. 2. His Preaching and Succeſs. 3. The Diviſion at Canterbury. 4. Sufferings for preaching the Goſpel. 5. Expulſions from College. 6. The true State of the Controverſy. 7. Oppoſition to Whitefield. 8. New Churches formed. 9. Claſſes and Courts againſt them. 10. But were defeated. 11. Eſpecially in the Branford Caſe.

I. BY whom ſhall Jacob ariſe, for he is ſmall? ſaith one prophet. Jeruſalem hath none of her ſons to guide her, ſaith another. And how much was this the caſe with New-England in 1744? Although ſome of their miniſters had been alive in religion, and had done a great deal to promote the power of it; yet they were agreed with formaliſts in confining the miniſtry to a college education, and in having of it ſupported by tax and compulſion; therefore none of them could now lead the church out of her Egyptian bondage. And where could ſuch a leader be found? Could any man think of looking to the barren ſhores of Cape-Cod for his birth, to the obſcure village of Canterbury for his education, or to a bench of lawyers for his integrity

integrity and faithfulneſs? Of all things this ſeemed moſt unlikely! Yet ſuch was the event. Mr. Eliſha Paine, of Eaſham, upon ſaid Cape, removed with his family to Canterbury, and was one of the ſeven men who formed a church there, June 13, 1711. His wife was of the family of Deacon John Doane*, one of the early magiſtrates of Plymouth Colony. Mr. Paine had four ſons, whom he brought up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord. The ſecond of them dated his converſion about the time of the revival of religion at Windham in 1721, and before the general revival, twenty years after he was become one of the greateſt lawyers in Connecticut, and was in very proſperous circumſtances in the world: In one of his private papers he ſays, "God hath ſo ordered it in his Providence, that ever ſince I was a child I have had an enquiring mind after knowledge, of almoſt all ſorts; but religion bore the ſway. I ſeemed to have a regard for good men, and therefore took great care to watch perſons, eſpecially to ſee how they kept the ſabbath. Before my converſion I had the curioſity to hear all the different worſhips in New-England, and enquired into their principles, and obſerved their behaviour, both in and out of their worſhip. And I ſaw ſo little, or rather nothing of the power of godlineſs in any of them, that I was then even in my carnal eſtate, afraid that the true religion was not in this land. Yet worldly pleaſure, and the form which was moſt acknowledged, would ſoon make me eaſy again. But when conviction came to lay hold of me, let who would be of the true religion, I ſaw mine was of no value." In July, 1742, he received an internal call to preach

* His daughter Abigail married a Lothrop in Norwich, where ſhe was much eſteemed, both for her capacity and her piety, until her death in 1735, æt. 104.

the goſpel, and in December following he offered himſelf for examination before ſome pious miniſters; and they gave him encouragement about entering into that work, but were for his doing it upon the Saybrook plan, which he never liked. The church he belonged to had been deſtitute of a paſtor near two years, when they met on January 27, 1743, and declared by vote, "That the platform of church diſcipline agreed upon by the Synod at Cambridge, in 1648, is moſt agreeable to the former deſigned practice of this church, excepting their having ruling elders as diſtinct officers, and moſt agreeable to the ſcriptures;" though they did not withdraw their fellowſhip from the conſociated churches. Soon after this Mr. Paine ſet out upon a journey; but for preaching the goſpel in Woodſtock, which then belonged to the Maſſachuſetts, he was ſeized on February 19, by virtue of a warrant from John Chandler, Eſq; of that town, and was impriſoned at Worceſter.

II. But his bonds proved to be for the furtherance of the goſpel, and he preached it to good purpoſe in priſon. And on March 10 four miniſters met at Lebanon, and ſigned a teſtimony in his favour; wherein, after mentioning the cauſe why he was not approbated in the preceding December, they ſay, "From the knowledge we then had of him, we were of the opinion that he was qualified, and that it was his duty to preach the goſpel. And we think it our duty to give our teſtimony for him, that he is, ſo far as we know or have ever heard, of a regular Chriſtian life and converſation; and we eſteem him ſound in the faith, and of good underſtanding in the doctrines of the goſpel of Chriſt.

Eleazar Wheelock, Joseph Meacham,
Benjamin Pomroy, Samuel Moſely."

This

THIS Mr. Moſely ſent to him, in a letter, wherein he ſaid, "Dear Sir, ſtand faſt in the faith; be ſtrong. They that be with you are more than they that be with our adverſaries. Never think it hard to ſuffer for Chriſt. It is enough for the ſervant that he be as his Lord."——Yet the next year all theſe men were overpowered by the enemy, ſo as to turn and act againſt him, in the great cauſe of reformation. On May 13 Worceſter Court were conſtrained to give him a diſcharge, as having been impriſoned without law; and he went round and preached the goſpel in the adjacent towns for a fortnight, and then returned home. July 8 he ſet off again, and travelled to Providence, Briſtol, Boſton, Cambridge, and as far northward as Dunſtable and Lancaſter, preaching the goſpel with great power; and returned home December 3, having, according to a journal he kept, preached two hundred and forty-four ſermons in that journey. And hearing of the meaſures many were then purſuing, under a pretence of promoting peace and good order, he ſaid, "Let me ſpeak freely of the peace that Connecticut was in. For theſe forty years we have had the name of a contentious people in the law. This was ſo cuſtomary, that to ſue a man for debt was become not much more than a compliment. And ſcarce a meeting-houſe has been ſet up for many years, without ſundry petitions to the Aſſembly; with great heats animoſity, party againſt party, not in love, as is too well known to be denied." And yet by their laws it was Forty Pounds fine for any people to ſet up a meeting-houſe without leave from Court. And, referring to what Daniel ſays of thoſe who ſhall be *corrupted by flatteries*, he ſaid of this time, "I verily believe they know not what they are doing;

ing; for they ſeem to be zealous to maintain peace, but take the direct way to break it. Chriſt is a peaceable Prince, and Prince of peace; and if there was nothing in the way of his kingdom, it would be as peaceable here as it is in heaven. The Spirit is compared to water; water maketh no noiſe unleſs it is interrupted; ſo is the ſpirit of Chriſt." In June, 1744, he went and laboured with ſucceſs in his native country of Cape-Cod, from whence ſprang the Baptiſt church in Harwich.

III. Upon his return a diviſion took place in Canterbury in the following manner. The pariſh had called a candidate there to preach, whom moſt of the church were not edified by. In Auguſt a committee of their Aſſociation met there, at the call of the pariſh, to give advice in the caſe. Mr. Paine was requeſted to give them his objections againſt ſaid candidate, but he refuſed, becauſe they were not called there by the church. Another member gave them a copy of their church vote againſt him; which the miniſters in their reſult ſaid "Was ſigned in behalf of the *aggrieved part* of the church;" and adviſed the pariſh to go on and ſettle their candidate. For this Paine, on September 12, wrote a ſmart reproof to one of thoſe miniſters, for wronging the truth, in calling that an aggrieved part, which was the church; and for encouraging the world to uſurp ſuch a power over the church of Chriſt. Hereupon he was diſciplined by the ſecular arm. Their charge, his plea, and their judgment thereon, were as follow. Their charge was,

IV. "That Eliſha Paine, of Canterbury, in the county of Windham, who is not a ſettled and ordained miniſter, did on the 10th day of April, A. D. 1744, go into the third pariſh in Windham, in the county aforeſaid, and in ſaid pariſh, in the houſe

houſe of Mr. Benjamin Cleaveland, there the ſaid Paine did publicly preach and exhort in matters of religion, both as to doctrine and practice, to a great number of people then preſent, that were notified many days before."

"*Windham, ſſ.* *September* 22, 1744.

"At a Juſtices Court. Preſent Nathanael Huntington, Juſtice of Peace.

"And now the priſoner at the bar being brought before this Court, for preaching the goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, and exhorting a number of people (as preſentment) pleads, that this Court hath not juriſdiction of this caſe; for the facts complained of are warranted by the law of God and the King, and therefore not triable by any Court or law inferior thereto; and this he is ready to verify judgment.

Elisha Paine."

"This Court having conſidered the plea of the priſoner, do judge it inſufficient; and ſay, that this Court hath juriſdiction of this caſe; and the ſaid Paine refuſed to make any other plea; whereupon it is conſidered by this Court, that the ſaid Eliſha Paine ſhall become bound to the Treaſurer of the county of Windham in the recognizance of One Hundred Pounds lawful money, to his peaceable and good behaviour, that he the ſaid Paine will not again offend in the like kind, between this time and the ſetting of the County Court, to be holden at Windham, in and for the county of Windham, on the ſecond Tueſday of December next, and then appear at ſaid Court on ſaid day, and take up his bond, unleſs the Court ſhall ſee cauſe to continue the ſame; and pay coſt of this proſecution, and ſtand committed until bond is given. Coſt allowed, Two Pounds Thirteen Shillings old-tenor bills. The ſaid Paine refuſed

to

to give bond as above mentioned, or any ways to comply with the judgment, and was committed the day and year above written.

NATHANAEL HUNTINGTON,
*Juſtice of Peace**."

BY giving ſecurity to the keeper, he got liberty to preach in the gaol-yard, which he frequently did to very good purpoſe. The day after one of thoſe ſeaſons he wrote to his beloved wife and ſaid, "Take no thought for the morrow; the Lord will take care of all his. Be not at all concerned about what the world can do to me; for they are all chained faſt, and cannot touch me but by leave of the bleſſed Jeſus, and if you are not afraid of his hurting of me, then be not afraid of the worms of the duſt. I truſt the Lord is about to do ſome great thing. It was a day of conviction yeſterday, eſpecially among the little ones. I never had ſo great a ſenſe of the Lord's being angry with the wicked, as yeſterday morning. O may he pity you and all Zion! I pray God to keep you and me, and all his, from a wicked and perverſe generation, among whom we dwell, and cauſe us to ſhine as burning lights. O may he cheer up our ſouls; humble our natures, by giving the victory to the ſpirit over the fleſh! I know not when I ſhall be delivered from this pleaſant houſe; I ſeem to be willing to tarry here juſt as long as my Father and your Father ſhall ſee cauſe to uſe me here; though I ſeem to have a ſtrong perſuaſion that I ſhall not tarry here long; but how the Lord will bring it about I know not. Let us leave it to him, and wait with patience until the appointed time ſhall come. And if I go from priſon to Paradiſe, it will be as ſweet as if I went from a throne. I de-

* Paine's view of the churches, p. 20—22.

I desire to commit you, myself, and all ours and his, to the wise disposal of a holy God. So farewell in the Lord Jesus. *Amen*. ELISHA PAINE.

Windham Prison, October 8, 1744."

V. His persecutors soon found that their cause was weakened more by his preaching and conduct in prison, than out of it, and therefore released him about October 19. In the mean time, as their church at Canterbury had no way to avoid hearing a man they were not edified by, but by leaving the meeting-house, they withdrew and held their worship at another house. And two members of it, who had one of them been at Yale college three years, and the other newly entered, when at home in vacation time, met for worship with their church on Lord's days. For this they were convented before the rulers of the college in November; who after hearing and considering of their pleas, said, "Since the principal design of erecting this college (as declared in charter) was to train up a succession of learned and orthodox ministers, by whose instruction and example people might be directed in the ways of religion and good order; therefore to educate persons whose principles and practices are directly subversive of the visible church of Christ, would be contrary to the original design of erecting this society; and we perceive that it would be a contradiction of the civil government, to support a college to educate students to trample upon their own laws, and break up the churches which they establish and protect, especially since the General Assembly, in May, 1742, thought proper to give the governors of the college some special advice and direction upon that account, which was to this effect; that all proper care should be taken to prevent

prevent the ſcholars imbibing thoſe or ſuch like errors; and that thoſe who would not be orderly and ſubmiſſive, ſhould not be allowed the privileges of the college. Neither can we conceive that it makes any odds, whether ſuch pernicious errors are imbibed and practiſed, and the laws of God and the civil government are broken, in or out of the vacancy of the town of New-Haven; or with or without the concurrence of their parents, ſince the pernicious conſequences thereof to the college and religion will be juſt the ſame.

THOMAS CLAP, *Rector*,
CHAUNCY WHITTLESEY,
JOHN WHITING,
THOMAS DARLING, } *Tutors**."

VI. FOR theſe reaſons Mr. Paine's two nephews, John and Ebenezer Cleaveland, were expelled from college; and three years after the eldeſt of them was ſettled at Ipſwich, and the other afterwards at Cape-Ann. Paine was repeatedly cited to appear before the miniſters of that county, to anſwer to complaints they received againſt him; but he knew their way too well to be drawn into their trap. Twelve of them met November 13, and drew up a paper againſt him and his brethren, and publiſhed it in a news-paper. December 11, a larger number met, and publiſhed a pamphlet, as a letter from them to their ſeveral ſocieties, which at the foot p. 52 is ſigned by Joſeph Coite, Ebenezer Williams, Joſeph Meacham, Samuel Dorrance, Solomon Williams, Jacob Eliot, Marſton Cabot, Samuel Moſeley, Ephraim Avery, Ebenezer Devotion, Eleazer Wheelock, Abel Stiles, Stephen White, John Baſs, Richard Salter, William Throope. A ſingle paſſage therein will give a plain

* Paine's view, p. 15, 16.

plain idea of the nature of their controverſy. Having quoted Deut. xiii. 1—3, as a warning to the people againſt hearing Mr. Paine and his brethren, they ſay, "The caſe here ſuppoſed is an attempt to draw the people to idolatry; and this you will ſay is not your caſe. Theſe prophets and dreamers endeavour to draw you to Chriſt, and not from him: But then they endeavour to draw you from his inſtitutions, to a way of worſhip which he has not inſtituted. Though the caſe is not ſo ſtrong, yet the argument againſt your compliance is the ſame; for whatſoever worſhip God has not inſtituted and directed in his word, is falſe worſhip, and therefore if there ſeem to be never ſo many appearances of God's power attending it, you may not go after, any more than after a falſe god*." Now obſerve, Chriſt ſays concerning the field, which is the world, *let both grow together until the harveſt*. While he ſays to the church, *put away from among yourſelves that wicked perſon*. In agreement herewith Mr. Paine applied the firſt of theſe precepts to the *State*, and ſaid, "*The church* is to caſt her tares out, *when they appear*, or the whole church is leavened†." But they contradicted him; and calling the field the viſible church, aſſerted that Chriſt would not let the ſervants "Go and root up the tares, even *when they appeared*‡." Thus thoſe who uſe ſecular force in religious affairs, violate the divine command both ways; they obſtruct diſcipline in the church, and invade the rights of conſcience and humanity in the State. This was remarkably verified in Canterbury: For November 27 their church met, and ſixteen males againſt twenty-three joined with the pariſh in ſending for their Conſociation to ordain Mr. James

* Aſſociation letter, p. 43.
† Ibid. p. 10. ‡ Page 21

Cogſwell there; and the Conſociation met for that purpoſe December 26, but not having the majority of the church for him, they could not get along according to their own laws. At length they called the pariſh together, and got them to declare, by vote, their willingneſs that the Aſſembly ſhould ſet off thoſe who did not chooſe him from ſupporting him; "And that they *may have* all legal privileges of a diſtinct and religious ſociety;" and ſo went on and ordained him. Which proceeding an advocate for them in 1771 called judicious, cautious, and gentle*. Yet thereby the firſt church in Canterbury was ſtripped of all *legal privileges* of a diſtinct religious ſociety; and becauſe they deſired no new incorporation from the Aſſembly, but only petitioned to be exempted from ſupporting a teacher they never choſe, their petition was diſregarded, their goods were torn away, or their perſons impriſoned therefor, for fifteen years; and the miniſters who ordained him diſcovered no more compaſſion towards him, than the prieſt and Levite did to the man that fell among thieves. This is the plain truth, without any exaggeration.

VII. NEW-ENGLAND now received a ſecond viſit from Mr. Whitefield, who came over in a maſt-ſhip, and landed at York, November 2. But how were miniſters alarmed at the news! His firſt coming cauſed a great ſhaking among the dry bones; what then could they look for in the preſent ſtate of the churches? An oppoſing party in Plymouth, diſliking the preaching of the pious Mr. Leonard, had formed a new church there, and Dr. Chauncy preached at the inſtalment of their miniſter, five days after Whitefield landed; when Chauncy ſaid, "I beſeech my fathers

* Fiſh's examiner examined, p. 16.

thers and brethren in the miniſtry to *mark this man* who has cauſed diviſions and offences, contrary to the doctrine which ye have learned, and avoid him. Turn your view, my brethren, into all corners of the land: Behold the confuſion in towns; the contentions in churches!—Perhaps it will be ſaid, theſe miſchievous things are only accidental effects, and not to be charged upon him. So far from it, that they are the unavoidable conſequence of *that ſpirit* in which he appeared‖." This is undoubted truth; and the reader may judge of the nature of that ſpirit, by the foregoing and following facts. For the heads of Harvard college ſoon publiſhed a teſtimony againſt Whitefield, which was followed with another, by an Aſſociation of miniſters at Weymouth, January 15, 1745; and a third by an Aſſociation at Marlborough, the 22d. The like was done by many other collective bodies, and by individuals. And much pains were taken to perſuade the world, that he was a diſhoneſt man; eſpecially becauſe of his ſaying ſo much as he had done againſt unconverted miniſters, while himſelf was a miniſter of the church of England. A number of anſwers were returned, by himſelf and others; ſome of which we have mentioned under the year 1740. On May 28, 1741, the Preſident of Harvard college delivered a ſermon before the annual Convention of miniſters at Boſton; when referring to Mr. Whitefield and Mr. Tennent he ſaid, "Thoſe two pious and valuable men of God, who have been lately labouring more abundantly among us, have been greatly inſtrumental in the hand of God to revive this bleſſed work; and many, no doubt, have been ſavingly converted from the error of their

‖ Sermon at Frink's inſtalment, p. 38.

their ways, and many more have been in ſome meaſure rouſed from their lethargy." But being now reminded of this*, his reply was, "Alas, how was I deluded with ſhow and appearance!" And had he and the college now got free from deluſion? In the eighth page of their teſtimony againſt Whitefield they ſay, "The believer may have ſatisfaction, that he hath the aſſiſtance of the Spirit of God with him, in ſo continual and regular a manner, that he may be ſaid to dwell in him, and yet he have *no feeling of it*." But obſerve, to be *paſt feeling* is the depth of Pagan darkneſs, Eph. iv. 19. And one of the worſt things that was now alledged againſt Mr. Whitefield, was his ſaying their colleges were *in darkneſs that might be felt*. Therefore it was ingeniouſly aſked upon this occaſion, why they need to produce the evidence of their own condemnation†? The heads of Yale college wrote a private letter to him, and he returned an anſwer, with ſeveral pamphlets upon the ſubject; but they were not ſatisfied therewith, and therefore publiſhed a declaration againſt him, dated February 25, 1745, wherein they ſay, "From theſe two principles which you have laid down, viz. that the generality of miniſters are unconverted, and that all unconverted miniſters are ſuch baneful and pernicious men, it naturally and neceſſarily follows, that the people ought to diſcard them, or ſeparate from them.—If theſe two principles are right and true, we are ſatisfied your deſign is good, and we would readily join with you." But being of a contrary mind, they accuſed him of a deſign of rooting out the ſtanding miniſters of the country, in order to introduce foreigners in their ſtead, and aſſerted that he told Mr.

* Whitefield's letter to that college, p. 20, 21.
† Hobby's defence of Whitefield, p. 23.

Mr. Edwards a ſtory of that nature*. This Edwards publicly contradicted; neither is there the leaſt evidence ſince of Whitefield's having any ſuch intent. In Auguſt, 1745, I heard him preach at Lebanon, Windham, Norwich, Mohegin and New-London; before which I had never ſeen him. He then ſpake againſt ſeparations; and his plan evidently was, to labour for the converſion and edification of ſouls, and to leave the building and government of churches to others. In 1768 the Corporation of Harvard college, with the ſame Preſident at their head, gave him a letter of thanks for his benefactions thereto.

VIII. A YEAR having rolled away, ſince Canterbury church was robbed of her rights, only for refuſing to give up their judgment about ſoul-guides, to men who ruled with force and cruelty, without the leaſt appearance of any deſign in them of relinquiſhing their claims, a number of teachers and brethren met at Mansfield, and having prepared a confeſſion of faith and covenant, and given a verbal account of their experiences to mutual

* *Said declaration*, p. 6—10. The taking of Cape-Breton this year was a very remarkable event. Governor Shirley firſt propoſed the attempt to the Aſſembly at Boſton. By a very ſmall majority they voted to undertake it, and to requeſt aſſiſtance therein from other Colonies, January 25; but the vote was no ſooner paſſed, than a general union appeared in carrying it into effect. And ſuch diſpatch was made, that an army conſiſting of 4060 men, under General Pepperell, rendezvouſed at Canſo, in April, where a ſmall fleet met them, under the command of Sir Peter Warren. The army landed on Cape-Breton April 30, to the great ſurprize of the enemy; and the ſtrong fortreſs of Louiſburg was given up to them on June 17, 1745. Old Mr. Moody, who went their chaplain, publicly declared a full belief that they ſhould take it, before the army left Boſton. Others went away ſaying, *pray for us, while we fight for you.* That event was a great means of reſtoring peace to Europe, as well as America.

tual ſatisfaction, they ſigned covenant together, October 9, 1745. And they elected Mr. Thomas Marſh for their paſtor, who had, for many years, been a deacon in good eſteem in the ſecond church in Windham; and his ordination was appointed to be on January 6, 1746. But he was ſeized the day before, and impriſoned at Windham, for preaching the goſpel without licence from the pariſh miniſters. On the day he was to have been ordained, Mr. Eliſha Paine preached a ſuitable ſermon, to a great concourſe of people, at the cloſe of which about fourteen learned miniſters came up, and tried to ſcatter that flock, after their ſhepherd was ſmitten; but they got no advantage againſt them. In February they choſe and ordained Mr. John Hovey for their paſtor, who miniſtered to them for many years*. Mr. Thomas Deniſon was baptized in July, 1743, and was ordained paſtor of a ſmall church at Aſhford the November after; but they diſſolving, he retracted what is called re-baptizing, and had a chief hand in forming this new church at Manſfield; and he laid on hands and gave the charge, in this and ſeveral ſucceeding ordinations. They held the power of ordination to be in the church; but as others have made great noiſe about a ſucceſſive power in miniſters, it is to be obſerved, that Elder Deniſon was ordained by Elder Moulton, and he by Elder John Callender, who was ordained by Elder Eliſha Callender, in whoſe ordination three of

* The firſt leader in theſe ſeparations, and the firſt paſtor they ordained, after much public ſervice and conflict, fell aſleep in the beginning of the late war. Mr. Paine was ordained at Bridge-Hampton, on Long-Iſland, in May, 1752, and preached to his beloved flock, until within fifteen days of his deceaſe, Auguſt 26, 1775, æt. 84. Mr. Hovey died October 28 following.

of the moſt noted Congregational miniſters in Boſton aſſiſted in 1718. And this line was never broken, by any act of cenſuring or depoſing, as was the caſe with diſſenters from Epiſcopacy, and alſo from Popery. With my beloved mother I viſited Mr. Marſh in the ſpring, and found him comfortable in mind; but his body was cloſely locked up in priſon, while a phyſician, who was put into a room over his head, for giving a ſingle woman a potion to deſtroy the fruit of her womb, which deſtroyed her own life, was allowed, with an officer to attend him, to viſit the ſick in various parts of the town. How much was this like Barabbas and Jeſus! In June Mr. Marſh was releaſed, and in July he was ordained a colleague with Hovey; and many ſuch churches were ſoon after formed and organized*. IX.

* Meſſieurs Solomon Paine was ordained at Canterbury September 10, Thomas Stephens at Plainfield September 11, Thomas Deniſon at Norwich-Farms October 29, Jedidiah Hide at Norwich-Town October 30, *Matthew Smith* at Stonington December 10, John Fuller at Lyme December 25, Joſeph Snow at Providence February 12, 1747; Samuel Wadſworth at Killingly June 3, Paul Park at Preſton July 15, *Elihu Marſh* at Windham October 7, Ebenezer Frothingham at Wethersfield October 28, Nathanael Shepherd in Attleborough January 20, 1748; *Iſaac Backus* at Bridgwater April 13, John Paine at Rehoboth Auguſt 3, *William Carpenter* at Norton September 7, *John Blunt* at Sturbridge September 28, *Ebenezer Mack* at Lyme January 12, 1749; Joſhua Nickerſon at Harwich February 23, Samuel Hide at Bridgwater May 11, John Palmer at Windham May 17, *Samuel Hovey* at Mendon May 31, Samuel Drown at Coventry October 11, Stephen Babcock at Weſterly April 4, 1750; *Joſeph Haſtings* at Suffield April 17, Nathanael Ewer at Barnſtable May 10, Joſhua Morſe at New-London May 17, Jonathan Hide at Brookline January 17, 1751; Ezekiel Cole at Sutton January 31, Ebenezer Wadſworth at Graſton March 20, Nathanael Draper at Cambridge April 24, Peter Werden at Warwick May 17, &c.

Thoſe in *Italic* became Baptiſts afterwards; Drown, Babcock, Morſe, Draper and Werden, were ſo before they were ordained.

Draper

IX. The Conſociation of Windham county had an account of many of theſe things laid before them January 13, 1747; upon which they adjourned to February 11, and ſent citations to the Elders Marſh, the Paines, and Stevens, to return anſwers to accuſations, then received againſt them. In the mean time the Conſociation requeſted their own churches to keep a day of faſting and prayer, for divine direction. When they met again, they inſerted a copy of the Mansfield articles and covenant in their reſult, with objections againſt many parts of it; one of which is in theſe words, viz. "Though moſt of us agree in the article of infant baptiſm, yet a difference in that particular doth not break the ſpiritual communion of ſaints; therefore it is no juſt bar to our covenanting and partaking of the ordinances together, wherein we are agreed." This the miniſters objected againſt, as it tended "To let in Anabaptiſts, and ſeems (ſay they) more agreeable to the inclinations of parties than the word of God." And having inſerted many reports and reflections againſt ſaid people, the ſame were publiſhed at Boſton, under the title of "The reſult of a Council of the conſociated churches in the county of Windham, relating to the principles and practices of the ſeveral bodies of people in ſaid county, who have *ſeparated* from the communion of the churches in this land, and ſet up an uninſtituted worſhip among themſelves;" containing 22 pages in octavo. All their arguments proceed upon the ſuppoſition, without proof, that theirs were the inſtituted churches; and therefore that to ſeparate from them was a revolt from

Draper was a graduate at Yale college, and the only perſon among them who had ſuch a degree; and he deſerted that cauſe two or three years after.

from God, and a rebellion againſt his government in the church. And for teaching and exhorting the people without their leave, the before named Elder Frothingham was impriſoned five months, John Paine eleven months, and John Palmer from September, 1747, to January, 1748; all at Hartford. Solomon Paine was impriſoned a fortnight for that cauſe at Windham, beſides much more of like nature done to others. And only for being members and deacons in thoſe ſeparate churches, three gentlemen, at different times, were expelled out of their Legiſlature; namely, Capt. Obadiah Johnſon of Canterbury, Capt. Thomas Stevens of Plainfield (father to their miniſter) and Capt. Nathan Jewett of Lyme. But overſtraining their power weakened it; and it now began to decline.

X. AT the election at Hartford, May 12, 1748, Colonel Huntington was again choſen into their Council, out of which he had been excluded five years*. And Solomon Paine came to this Aſſembly, with a memorial, ſigned by 330 men; praying for a repeal of all their laws, which debarred any inhabitants in the Colony from the liberty granted by God and tolerated by the King, or that the execution thereof might be forbidden. After long waiting, he had liberty to read and ſpeak to the memorial in the Aſſembly; and though it was then diſmiſſed, yet ſome light was communicated there-

* He was the 5th ſon of Deacon Chriſtopher Huntington, the firſt Engliſh male that was born in Norwich, after it was planted in 1660. This ſon received an early converſion, ſucceeded his father in the deacon's office, and did much to promote a reformation in the town, in and after 1741. Henceforward, by annual and full elections, he was continued a Counſellor, and for a number of years the firſt man therein; was Chief Judge of their County Court for twenty years, and a Judge of Probate, until he died in peace, February 10, 1773, æt. 76.

by. In December, 1748, he was proſecuted at Windham Court, for marrying a couple of his own people. His brother came and pleaded his cauſe. The King's Attorney, in pleading againſt Solomon, allowed that he was ordained the paſtor of a church of Chriſt in Canterbury, in as ſolemn a manner as could be; but then pleaded that he was not a civil officer, becauſe not choſen by the majority of the pariſh, which was the thing which made their miniſters civil officers; and he ſaid it was in that capacity that they were ſupported by tax, and had power to marry perſons. And upon this plea the caſe was turned againſt him; and alſo another caſe at the ſame time againſt one of his ſociety, about a tax to a legal miniſter. Hereupon Mr. Eliſha Paine wrote an account of theſe proceedings to other miniſters, to ſhew the abſurdity of their way of profeſſing to be miniſters of Chriſt, and to be ſupported in the name of the King of England, while their conſtitution differed eſſentially from the churches under either of thoſe heads. At the ſame time they met with a great ſhock from another quarter.

XI. For as long as Mr. Robbins continued a regular miniſter, and yet was excluded out of their Conſociation, it ſerved to weaken their power. A complaint was therefore received againſt him, May 31, 1743, ſigned by ſix of his hearers, before he had any notice of who the complainants were, or what they complained of; and a committee of miniſters were appointed to go to him upon it. As ſoon as he diſcovered who the complainants were, he went and gave them ſatisfaction, and they wrote an account of it to ſaid committee; yet they came to him, and inſiſted upon his being reconciled to their Conſociation: This he tried for without ſucceſs.

How-

However, perceiving what a ſtorm was gathering, he drew three confeſſions, which he carried to another of their meetings; wherein he went as far as he could towards giving them ſatisfaction, ſhort of confeſſing that he broke the law of God in preaching to thoſe Baptiſts, contrary to the deſire of Preſbyterians. But as he could not in conſcience confeſs that, he returned home, without being reconciled to them. On May 29, 1745, a ſecond complaint was received againſt him, without his having previous notice of it, and another committee was ſent, who prevailed with him to go and offer them a fourth confeſſion; wherein he pleaded that his ignorance of its being a crime to preach to the Baptiſts as he did, might apologize for him, ſo that a reconciliation might be effected*. But they inform us, that inſtead of accepting what he had drawn, they drew a confeſſion for him to this purpoſe, viz. "I the ſubſcriber acknowledge, that I am ſorry I preached *diſorderly* at Wallingford, and prayed at the ſeparation at New-Haven, and promiſe not to do ſo again." And only becauſe he refuſed to ſign this, without explaining the word diſorderly, they ſay, "The man appeared *ſtiff* and *ſelf-willed* to the laſt degree†." Be that as it may, he then went home, and laid the confeſſion they had rejected before his pariſh, who voted it to be ſufficient, and deſired him to continue in the miniſtry with them, and alſo that no Councils nor committees might be ſent there again, without their requeſt. His church met November 4, 1745, and renounced the Saybrook platform, and ſaid, "We receive the ſcriptures of the old and new teſtament, as the only perfect rule and platform of church government

* His narrative, p. 13, 14.
† Their anſwer, p. 10.

vernment and diſcipline;" but did not renounce fellowſhip with the conſociated churches*. This in their view was worſe than all he had done before; and a third and much larger complaint was received againſt him, and the Conſociation was called to try the ſame at Branford, September 30, 1746. Their moderator ſent a copy of the complaint to him, and ſaid upon it, "You, the ſaid Philemon Robbins, are hereby, *in the name of Chriſt*, cited and required to appear before the ſaid Conſociation, at the time and place aforeſaid, then and there to anſwer the ſeveral articles of the ſaid complaint, and thereof you may not fail.

By NATHANIEL CHAUNCY, *Moderator*."

Durham, Auguſt 28, 1746.

ROBBINS drew anſwers to each article, and laid them before his people, who declared their ſatisfaction therewith; and his church appointed a committee to lay a copy of their votes before the Council, and earneſtly to declare againſt their juriſdiction over them. This was accordingly done; yet they reſolved that they had juriſdiction over Mr. Robbins, and went on to hear accuſations againſt him in his abſence, and to condemn him in ten articles of his public teaching, without naming any witneſſes, or any time or place when or where either of them was delivered. And concerning his conduct they ſay, "He hath led off a party with him, to riſe up againſt and ſeparate from the eccleſiaſtical conſtitution of this Colony, under which this church was peaceably eſtabliſhed; reproachfully inſinuating, in a church meeting, that under the Saybrook platform it is King-Aſſociation, in oppoſition to Jeſus Chriſt, the only King of the church.—In which articles, upon mature deliberation, we judge ſaid

* Robbins's narrative, p. 15.

ſaid Mr. Robbins is criminally guilty of the breach of the third, fifth and ninth commands, and many goſpel rules, for which he ought to give Chriſtian ſatisfaction, by making a confeſſion to the acceptance of this Conſociation*." This he was ſo far from doing, that he publiſhed a narrative of the whole affair at Boſton. They waited a year, and then met again September 29, 1747, and after telling of their lenity and his obſtinacy, they ſay the Conſociation "Do *in the name of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt*, according to the word of God, and the powers inveſted in this Conſociation, by the eccleſiaſtical conſtitution of this government, depoſe the ſaid Mr. Philemon Robbins from his miniſterial office, and miniſterial and paſtoral relation, to the firſt church in ſaid Branford, and debar and ſuſpend him from communion, in any of the churches. And this Conſociation do hereby forbid the ſaid Mr. Philemon Robbins to preach the goſpel, or adminiſter the holy ſacraments, and ſuſpend him from communion, in any and all the churches of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, until he ſhall have, in a public and Chriſtian manner, reflected on himſelf for the crimes and faults above mentioned, to the ſatisfaction of the Conſociation of this county of New-Haven.

The above voted:

Teſt,

SAMUEL WHITTLESEY, jun. } Scribes†."
ROBERT TREAT, }

THIS is in an anſwer to Robbins, ſaid in the title page to be *printed for the Conſociation and Aſſociation of New-Haven county*, 1748; without any author or printer's name. It repreſents, that when the Preſby-

* Narrative, p. 18—29. † Their anſwer, p. 117.

Preſbyterian and Congregational churches formed the Saybrook platform, it became their own voluntary contract; and that being eſtabliſhed by their Legiſlature, it became the eccleſiaſtical conſtitution of the whole Colony, as much as their charter, which united the Colonies of Hartford and New-Haven in one, was their civil conſtitution: And that Mr. Robbins and his church had no more right to renounce their juriſdiction, than his pariſh had to renounce the authority of the civil government of Connecticut*: That a toleration was never intended to deſtroy an eſtabliſhment; and that as the Baptiſts he preached to had not fully complied with the act of toleration, they were not an orderly ſociety, "But only a number of men that in a *diſorderly* manner refuſed ſubmiſſion to their paſtor." And they accuſe Robbins of intruding himſelf into the *biſhoprics* of Mr. Whittleſey, at Wallingford, and of Mr. Noyes, at New-Haven‖. To prove which they quote the ſame ſcriptures that Dr. Chauncy, their champion, had cited before; one of which, they ſay, means "In plain Engliſh, his doing the office of a biſhop in another's dioceſe; and this the apoſtle ranks with ſome of the greateſt crimes, 1 Pet. iv. 15†." But who formed thoſe dioceſſes! Becauſe Robbins laid his fourth confeſſion, which they rejected, before his pariſh, who voted that it was ſufficient, the Conſociation obſerved, that a freehold rated at fifty ſhillings, or forty pounds, in the common liſts, made every inhabitant a voter in ſuch meetings, and from thence they exclaimed againſt him for that procedure, ſaying, "What if half the ſociety were ſcandalous perſons‡!" Ay, what indeed! how

* Ibid. p. 86, 94, 112. ‖ Page 6, 8, 106.
† Page 43. ‡ Page 101.

how dreadful muſt the conſequence be! juſt ſuch as Connecticut had felt for forty years! For their laws made ſuch votes equal to the votes of the beſt ſaints among them, in the choice of their Legiſlature. And an Aſſembly thus choſen broke over their own law, and elected an ordained miniſter for their Governor; by whoſe influence the Saybrook ſcheme was formed and eſtabliſhed, without allowing the churches liberty to ſay whether their miniſters ſhould meet to form it or not. And now, becauſe Mr. Robbins continued to preach the goſpel to his people, a complaint was carried to their Legiſlature againſt him, with a prayer that he might be turned out of his pulpit, ſo that a regular man might be introduced in his ſtead. This was ſo far from being granted, that a Council was appointed out of other counties, who prevailed with ſaid Conſociation to reſtore Mr. Robbins to a ſeat with them, which he held until his death in 1781; but his church ſent no meſſengers with him. In October, 1749, their Aſſembly revived their act, concerning the Saybrook eſtabliſhment in 1708, and their acts in 1729, to exempt Quakers and Baptiſts from it; and ordered a new edition of their laws, which were printed in 1750; out of which were excluded all their perſecuting acts ſince the late revival of religion, without a formal repeal of any of them. And Governor Wolcot publiſhed a pamphlet againſt the Saybrook ſcheme. Governor Fitch publiſhed another to explain away its power, which has been upon the decline ever ſince.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

1. Errors and Difficulties among the Separates. 2. Unjuſt Treatment of them. 3. Edwards's Caſe. 4. Increaſe and Sufferings of the Baptiſts. 5. Others oppreſſed. 6. The Evil thereof well expoſed. 7. Agents ſent to England againſt it.

I. REFORMATION has ever been attended with great difficulties. Declenſion is natural to fallen men, but a return to the right way is not ſo. When Iſrael came out of Egypt, a mixed multitude went up. And when David withdrew from Saul's tyranny, many reſorted to him, not only of his kindred, but alſo of every one that was in diſtreſs, in debt, and that were diſcontented; yet when it was ſaid of his cauſe in general, there be many ſervants now-a-days that break away, every man for his maſter, the ſcripture calls it *railing*, and gives the perſon who uttered it the character of a *fool* or *madman*. But how full is our world of ſuch folly and madneſs! David became the Captain of thoſe who reſorted to him; but the people, who now came out from the above-deſcribed tyranny over the churches, had no ſuch commander. Even the father who led them out had too much knowledge, and cautious deliberation, to be long followed as their chief guide; and he retired to a diſtant iſland, and ſettled there. Such evils had been practiſed under the name of learning, orthodoxy and regu-

regularity, that many were prejudiced againſt the truth of what others falſly called by thoſe names. Chriſtian liberty had been ſo much invaded, that many ran into licentiouſneſs to avoid tyranny. The right which the goſpel gives to every ſaint, freely to improve their ſeveral gifts, for mutual edification, had been ſo much denied, that frequent inſtances were now ſeen, of perſons putting themſelves forward in exerciſes which they had not a gift for; being ſo earneſt to maintain the liberty of ſpeaking, as not duly to regard others right of judging. And as ſome precious miniſters had evidently loſt much of their former life and freedom, by their attempts to correct errors, diſorders and imprudences, a number of pious ſouls were afraid of appearing againſt almoſt any thing that wore the garb of power and life in religion. And the example of the Erſkines in Scotland, who came out of their national church for reformation, and yet rejected Mr. Whitefield, becauſe he would not come into all their meaſures, was held up as a warning here, againſt ſtopping in what any had already attained to. And juſt in this juncture a man came from Windham to Norwich, in the ſummer of 1746, with a proclamation of liberty, and an opening of the latter day glory; exclaiming againſt the legal bondage of praying every night and morning in families, whether perſons felt a ſpirit of prayer or not; declaring that if they had not a ſpirit of prayer, God did not then call them to pray; and ſo of other duties. In this way ſundry perſons, chiefly at Windham, proceeded, until they aſſerted that they had paſſed the firſt reſurrection, and were perfect and immortal; and one of them declared that he was Chriſt. But this ſpirit ſoon carried them into knavery in tem-

poral dealings, intemperance, and what not? About the beginning of 1748, ſome people in Cumberland advanced the opinion, that if a ſaint found that he or ſhe had not been married to the perſon that was made for them, they were not held by legal bonds from a right now to take their true mate, if they ſaw who it was. Hereupon an only child of a rich father, not living comfortably with her huſband, ventured to reject him, and to lodge with another man. Some brethren of Attleborough hearing of it, went to labour with her father, and others, to turn them from this deluſion; but he ſaid he did not believe there was any harm in it, for they lay with the bible between them. But to his ſorrow and ſhame his daughter proved to be with child, by her new companion, and her huſband obtained a legal divorce from her. About the ſame time, a member of the firſt church in Canterbury declared that it was revealed to him, that a certain ſingle woman would become his wife, though he then had a wife and children. For ſuch converſation the church called him to an account; and, after ſeven months labour, they excommunicated him on September 27, 1749. In the winter following he purchaſed ſome mercury at Norwich, and it was judged that the woman he had a fancy for poiſoned two children, they giving out that a new and ſtrange diſtemper was come among them, and then poiſoned his wife, ſo that all the three died. This was not doubted to be the fact, though ſhe was acquitted upon trial in Court, and he married her, and afterwards went into the war, and died in Canada. Some of her relations were called to an account, and were caſt out of the church in Canterbury, for perjury, when acting as witneſſes in Court upon that caſe.

II. Now

II. Now though no actors in the two firſt of theſe ſcenes of iniquity were ever members of any of thoſe Separate churches, and ſaid church had ſo clearly acquitted themſelves of the third, yet miniſters, even from their pulpits, through the whole country, caſt theſe ſcandals upon the Separate cauſe in general, to prove the dreadful danger and effects of ſeparating from them; and the populace were very ready to follow their guides, in this way of ſlander and railing. Such glaring injuſtice to their character, added to much violence upon their perſons and eſtates, ſerved greatly to confirm them in their way; and to guard their minds againſt receiving any inſtruction or correction from men who treated them ſo abuſively. A firſt principle of their ſeparation was, that the leadings of the divine ſpirit are ever to be followed, and not fleſhly wiſdom, nor man's inventions; but how little was the meaning and right application of this principle underſtood? When it was aſſerted, that none but the regenerate ought to be admitted to full communion, miniſters would anſwer, that you cannot know who they are. And when it was mentioned, that our Lord ſays, *ye ſhall know them by their fruits*; the queſtion was ſhifted, whether they held to a ſatisfactory or an infallible knowledge? which diſpute was often carried to extremes on both ſides. And as many would confine the word fruits to dry morality, others ran to the oppoſite extreme, and formed their judgments of perſons by their inward feelings towards them, rather than upon an intelligible view of what came from them by words and actions. The evils alſo which many had ſuffered from an overbearing majority, turned ſome to plead againſt receiving any members till every individual had fellowſhip

lowſhip with them, and the like in other church acts. At length they found that hereby the leaſt member might tyrannize over the whole church. Again, though the undue power of Councils had been much complained of, yet the Separates run into that evil in a new way. When Councils were called, they were received into fellowſhip with the church that wanted advice; and when they had heard the caſe, and given their advice, in many inſtances the Council acted with the church in cenſuring delinquents; though ſometimes there were more of the Council than of the acting members of the church. After ſome years this practice was dropt. Other miſtakes will appear in the courſe of this hiſtory.

III. HAVING good men againſt them in the cauſe of reformation was matter of peculiar trial. It was as much ſo with regard to Mr. Edwards, as any one man. His ſucceſs was very great, and by acting upon Mr. Stoddard's doctrine, the church in Northampton was become very numerous; into which he eſſayed to bring goſpel diſcipline, in 1744. But when ſome of their chief families perceived that it would expoſe their own conduct, they were inflamed againſt Mr. Edwards. And though it could not be honorable to reject ſuch an eminent miniſter on that account; yet finding that he had turned from good old Mr. Stoddard's doctrine, that change was eagerly taken hold of, as a cover for their reſentment. And all his prudent endeavours could never bring that church, as a body, to give him a fair hearing of his reaſons for altering his ſentiments upon that point: They were therefore publiſhed at Boſton this year. Some of his cleareſt proofs againſt admitting unſanctified perſons to the ordinance of the ſupper, are Rom. ii. 29,

29; vi. 1—4. Phil. iii. 3, Col. ii. 11, 12. From whence he ſays, "*That baptiſm*, by which the primitive converts were *admitted* into the church, was uſed as an exhibition and token of their being viſibly *regenerated*, dead to ſin, and alive to God. The ſaintſhip, godlineſs and holineſs, of which, according to ſcripture, profeſſing Chriſtians and viſible ſaints do make a profeſſion and have a viſibility, is not any religion and virtue that is the reſult of common grace, or moral ſincerity (as it is called) but *ſaving grace**." Which point was the capital article that the Separate churches were built upon; but for fear it ſhould be improved in their favour, he reminded the reader of what he had ſaid againſt them, in his treatiſe on the affections, and in Brainard's life; and then ſaid, "I am ſtill of the ſame mind concerning their lay-ordinations, their lay-preachings, and public exhortings, and adminiſtering ſacraments; their aſſuming, ſelf-confident, contentious, uncharitable, ſeparating ſpirit†." And yet he lived remote from almoſt all the numerous communities whom he thus cenſured, and knew but very little of the real ſtate of their controverſy. The excellent rules which he had publiſhed ſeven years before, were then out of his mind; namely, to judge of a work by the real nature of it, and not by the circumſtances and means of its introduction; to make the ſcriptures the whole rule to judge by; and well to diſtinguiſh between the good and the bad among the ſubjects of the work‖. A due regard to theſe rules of his own would have prevented the above reflections, as well as many things in the two other books named. A Separate miniſter, in the eaſt part of Connecticut, wrote to Mr. Edwards

* On a right to ſacraments, p. 20—23.

† Preface, p. 5. ‖ Thoughts on the work, 1742, p. 1—40.

Edwards upon this ſubject, and in particular deſired him to anſwer two queſtions. 1. As he had deſcribed an excellent new houſe, how we could get into it without going out of the old one, which was in a ruined condition? 2. What he meant by the word *lay*, which he ſo often uſed; whether the ſame as the *Latin* church did? He returned an anſwer, wherein he allowed the old houſe to be in a ruinous condition; but thought we were not yet called to leave it. And to explain what he meant by laymen, he had recourſe to the old opinion about a ſucceſſive power in miniſters; but he ſoon after felt ſuch effects of that power, as he hardly could have believed before.

For his people were ſo uneaſy, that he agreed to call a mutual Council of ten churches, to ſettle the controverſy betwixt them: But in the large county of Hampſhire, which then included Berkſhire alſo, he could find but three miniſters of his judgment, upon the point in diſpute; and the church was ſtrenuous againſt allowing him liberty to go out of that county for the other two whom he was to chooſe. At length they yielded ſo far; but when the Council met, one of the churches had refuſed to ſend to it; ſo that though their miniſter was received to act in the Council, yet he had no delegate with him; therefore Mr. Edwards was *ſeparated* from his dear flock, by the major vote of only one delegate in that Council. And the only charge that they had againſt him they ſtated in theſe words, viz. "The paſtor inſiſting upon it as neceſſary to the admiſſion of members to full communion, that they ſhould make a profeſſion of *ſanctifying grace*; whereas the brethren are of the opinion, that the Lord's ſupper is a converting ordinance, and conſequently that perſons, if they have a com-

a competency of knowledge, and are of a blameleſs life, may be admitted to the Lord's table, although they make *no ſuch profeſſion**." And Dr. Solomon Williams, who wrote againſt him, ſays, "Nothing ſhould be expreſſed in the words of the profeſſion, but what ſome *unſanctified men* may ſay and ſpeak true‖." And he was a chief actor in all that the miniſters of Windham county had done againſt the Separates. And Mr. Edwards, who had been moved to cenſure them ſo hardly, yet was now *ſeparated* from the people he dearly loved, upon the ſame point; and he removed and ſettled at Stockbridge, where he became more extenſively ſerviceable to mankind; eſpecially by his incomparable treatiſe upon the liberty of the will, and his anſwer to Taylor on original ſin; both of which have been reprinted in London. At laſt he was choſen Preſident of New-Jerſey college; but ſoon died there of the ſmall-pox, March 22, 1758, æt. 56.

IV. The fundamental principle above deſcribed, naturally leads to the excluſion of infant ſprinkling; but the generality of thoſe who came out in ſeparation had no ſuch idea. The Mansfield articles held up internal union as the rule of church communion, although perſons were of different ſentiments about baptiſm; but there were very few Baptiſts in any of their churches before 1749. In June that year Elder Moulton baptized thirteen members of the Separate church in Sturbridge, one of whom was Deacon Daniel Fiſk; and in a little time after all their officers, and the main body of the church, were baptized, even above threeſcore perſons. The exempting law for Baptiſts had again expired

* Reſult of the Council at Northampton, June 22, 1750, p. 3, 4. And Edwards's life. ‖ Anſwer to Edwards, p. 47.

expired in 1747, when it was revived and continued for ten years. And in order that the benefit of it might be extended to that ſociety, two principal members of the ſecond Baptiſt church in Boſton wrote a certificate in their favour to Sturbridge aſſeſſors, Jan. 23, 1750. And in May following two principal members of the Baptiſt church in Sturbridge gave in a liſt of their ſociety according to law; yet they were all again taxed to Mr. Caleb Rice, a miniſter in that town. And, only for this and the following year, five men were impriſoned at Worceſter, three oxen and eight cows were taken away, and a great deal of other property, for ſuch taxes. Aaron Allen was the collector who did it for 1750, and Jonathan Maſon for 1751. The firſt took a good cow from David Morſe, a ruling elder in ſaid Baptiſt church, for a tax of One Pound One Shilling and Fourpence; and the other took a pair of oxen from him, valued at Eleven Pounds, for a tax of leſs than Five Dollars. Such havoc did they make of their neighbours goods, under religious pretences! Sundry proſecutions were commenced againſt thoſe collectors; and when one of the caſes came to the Superior Court, both parties agreed to refer it to the judges; and they gave judgment in favour of the Baptiſts. This gave a ſhock to their oppreſſors; but a ſcheme was ſoon contrived to nonſuit the other actions commenced; and that was by pleading, that the ſuit ſhould have been againſt the aſſeſſors, and not the collectors. By this trick Mr. Morſe was injured to the value of above Twenty Pounds; and the whole ſociety eſtimated their damages at more than a Hundred Pounds. And in a warrant for their town-meeting of March 2, 1752, an article was inſerted, to ſee if the town would indemnify

demnify their collector for his expences, in the action which was turned againſt him. Moſes Marcy, Eſq; was Moderator, and as this article was objected to, it was propoſed to raiſe the money by ſubſcription, and they enquired how much it was. Upon which the Moderator drew out and read a paper, containing an account of "So much for going to a lawyer, and ſo many dollars given to Col. Brattle at one time, and ſo many to another man," &c. and he ſaid the whole, with the execution, amounted to above Twenty Pounds. This moved the people ſo, that it did not ſeem likely that they would vote it by itſelf; therefore, contrary to law, (which was inſiſted upon by the Baptiſts preſent) that article was blended with another about ſchool-money, and the vote was carried, whereby the Baptiſts were again taxed to pay the expences of an illegal law-ſuit againſt themſelves*. And this was not enough; but ſaid Moderator, who was a member of the Legiſlature, moved them ſo with theſe things, that when they met November 22, 1752, they broke in upon their own law, and enacted, that the miniſter, with two principal members of the Baptiſt church, ſhould ſign their certificates for the future; and alſo that no miniſter or church ſhould have any power to give lawful certificates, until they ſhall have obtained "From three other churches, commonly called Anabaptiſts, in this or the neighbouring Provinces, a certificate from each reſpectively, that they eſteem ſuch church to be of their denomination, and that they conſcientiouſly believe them to be Anabaptiſts." All ſuch certificates to be lodged with the town-clerk where

* Theſe facts about ſaid meeting were ſworn to by three men at Worceſter, Auguſt 31, 1753, one of whom was Deacon Daniel Fiſk, who died a member of our Legiſlature in 1778.

the Baptiſts lived, before their ſeveral aſſeſſments were made. This act to continue in force five years. And ſaid Moderator preſented a petition to the Aſſembly in June following, that all the unimproved lands in Sturbridge might be taxed to his miniſter; but did not obtain it. It is to be obſerved, that thoſe who lately became Baptiſts were not in fellowſhip with moſt of the old Baptiſt churches; therefore this act was paſſed to prevent their being exempted from taxes to State worſhip. It alſo required them to certify a conſcientious belief of a point which they never did believe, viz. That they were Anabaptiſts *(rebaptizers)* a name of reproach caſt upon them by their perſecutors.

V. And among the many inſtances that diſcovered how tenacious our oppreſſors were of their taxing power to ſupport worſhip, take the following. Eſther White, of Raynham, had a ſmall intereſt left her, for which ſhe was taxed *Eightpence* to the pariſh miniſter, from whom ſhe had withdrawn four years; and ſhe ſeriouſly declared that it was againſt her conſcience to pay it. Therefore, for no more than that ſum, ſhe was ſeized on February 28, 1752, and was impriſoned at Taunton until March, 1753, when ſaid miniſter's own people were conſtrained to go and releaſe her, without her paying any acknowledgment to that taxing power. She ſoon after became a Baptiſt, and continued to give abiding evidence of true piety, until ſhe died in peace in 1774. The caſe of Framingham, twenty-five miles weſtward of Boſton, affords a further demonſtration of the iniquity of ſupporting miniſters by tax and compulſion. The Honorable Edward Goddard, Eſq; formerly one of the Council in this Province, with other fathers of that town, could not concur with the majority in the

ſettlement

ſettlement of a miniſter; and by the advice of other miniſters they became an organized church by themſelves in 1747, and wanted nothing but the ſanction of the civil power, to make them as regular and orthodox a ſociety in law as any others were. But as they were zealous friends to the late revival of religion, ſuch an incorporation was denied them. And they had been all taxed to a miniſter they never choſe, for ſix years before the publication upon the ſubject, which is quoted in the appendix to vol. 1, p. 8, 15. Three years after their miniſter left them, and a Baptiſt ſociety is now formed among them. And Connecticut ſtill kept pace with the Maſſachuſetts in oppreſſion, of which the place of the author's nativity now exhibited a ſtriking example. A widow who had withdrawn from their worſhip ſeven years, and ſteadily attended and ſupported worſhip in another church, gives ſo clear an account of it, that her letter is here preſented to the reader, without adding or diminiſhing a word.

VI. "*Norwich, November* 4, 1752*.

"*My dear Son,*

"I HAVE heard ſomething of the trials amongſt you of late, and I was grieved, till I had ſtrength to give up the caſe to God, and leave my burthen there. And now I would tell you ſomething of our trials. Your brother Samuel lay in priſon twenty days. October 15 the collectors came to our houſe, and took me away to priſon about nine o'clock, in a dark rainy night. Brothers Hill and Sabin were brought there the next night: We lay in priſon thirteen days, and then ſet at liberty, by what means I know

* By act of Parliament eleven days were taken out between the 2d and 14th of September this year; but as it was not done in our almanack, this date was in old ſtile.

I know not. Whilſt I was there a great many people came to ſee me; and ſome ſaid one thing and ſome another. O the innumerable ſnares and temptations that beſet me, more than I ever thought on before! But, O the condeſcenſion of heaven! though I was bound when I was caſt into this furnace, yet was I looſed, and found Jeſus in the midſt of the furnace with me. O then I could give up my name, eſtate, family, life and breath, freely to God. Now the priſon looked like a palace to me. I could bleſs God for all the laughs and ſcoffs made at me. O the love that flowed out to all mankind! Then I could forgive as I would deſire to be forgiven, and love my neighbour as myſelf. Deacon Griſwold was put into priſon the 8th of October, and yeſterday old brother Grover, and are in purſuit of others; all which calls for humiliation. This church hath appointed the 13th of November to be ſpent in prayer and faſting on that account. I do remember my love to you and your wife, and the dear children of God with you, begging your prayers for us in ſuch a day of trial. We are all in tolerable health, expecting to ſee you. Theſe from your loving mother, ELIZABETH BACKUS."

SOME time after her brother, Mr. Iſaac Tracy, was impriſoned for the ſame cauſe, while he was a member of their Legiſlature; and they furiouſly went on, in impriſoning of perſons and ſpoiling of goods, to ſupport State worſhip, for eight years, till the ſpiritual weapons of truth and love vanquiſhed thoſe carnal weapons; and they have not been ſo uſed in Norwich for theſe many years paſt. And as great a victory was alſo gained in Canterbury. The fall after Mr. Eliſha Paine was ſettled on Long-Iſland, he came over to Canterbury for ſome neceſſaries for his family, when Samuel Adams,

Adams, a collector, ſeized and impriſoned him at Windham, on November 21, 1752; where he wrote thus, "I cannot but marvel to ſee how ſoon the children will forget the ſword that drove their fathers into this land, and take hold of it as a jewel, and kill their grand-children therewith. O! that men could ſee how far this is from Chriſt's rule! That all things that we would have others do unto us, that we ſhould do even ſo unto them. I believe the ſame people that put this authority into the hands of Mr. Cogſwell, their miniſter, to put me into priſon for not paying him for preaching, would think it very hard for the church I belong to, and am paſtor of, if they ſhould get the upper hand, and tax and impriſon him, for not paying what he ſhould be ſo unjuſtly taxed at; and yet I can ſee no other difference, only becauſe the power is in his hands: For I ſuppoſe he has heard me as often as I ever have him; yet he hath taken by force from me two cows and one ſteer, and now my body held in priſon, only becauſe the power is in his hands." And on December 11 he wrote to Canterbury aſſeſſors, and ſaid, "To you, gentlemen, practitioners of the law, from your priſoner in Windham gaol, becauſe his conſcience will not let him pay to a miniſter that is ſet up by the law of Connecticut, contrary to his conſcience and conſent. The Roman Emperor was called Pontifix Maximus, becauſe he preſided over civil and eccleſiaſtical affairs; which is the firſt beaſt who perſecuted the Chriſtians that ſeparated from their eſtabliſhed religion, which they called the holy religion of their forefathers; and by their law fined, whipt, impriſoned, and killed ſuch as refuſed obedience thereto. We all own that the Pope or Papal throne is the ſecond beaſt, becauſe he is head

of

of the eccleſiaſtical, and meddles with civil affairs; and for which he is alſo ſtiled Pontifix Maximus, or High Prieſt. He alſo compels all under him to ſubmit to his worſhip, decrees and laws, by whips, fines, priſons, fire and faggots. Now what your priſoner requeſts of you, is a clear diſtinction between the eccleſiaſtical conſtitution of Connecticut, by which I am now held here in priſon, and the aforeſaid two thrones or beaſts, in the foundation, conſtitution and ſupport thereof. For if by ſcripture and reaſon you can ſhew they do not all ſtand on the throne mentioned in Pſalm xciv. 20, but that the latter is founded on the rock Chriſt Jeſus, I will confeſs my fault, and ſoon clear myſelf of the priſon. But if this conſtitution hath its riſe from that throne, then come forth to the help of the Lord againſt the mighty; for better is it to die for Chriſt, than to live againſt him. From an old friend to this civil conſtitution, and long your priſoner, ELISHA PAINE."

VII. FIVE days after he was releaſed; but the extremity of the winter hindered him a great while from getting over to his family, who ſuffered much in an unfiniſhed houſe, for want of his help. Mr. Solomon Paine publiſhed this year a view of the difference between the church of Chriſt, and the churches eſtabliſhed by law in Connecticut. And though the conteſt was hot for eight years longer, yet it then abated, and in 1771 Mr. Cogſwell was diſmiſſed; and ſuch taxes were entirely dropt in the place, and a number of actors therein were brought to confeſs their faults for the ſame. In the mean time, another unſucceſsful addreſs to their Aſſembly, ſigned by a large number of men, was preſented in 1753. After which twenty churches joined in a memorial to the King in Council,

cil, ſupported by authentic records and teſtimonies, to which Governor Fitch affixed the ſeal of the Colony; and Mr. Bliſs Willoughby, and Mr. Moſes Morſe, carried it to London in 1756. But having laid it before the deputation and committee for the Diſſenters, whereof Dr. Avery was Chairman, they judged that if thoſe plain violations of charter rights were preſented to the King in Council, it would endanger the taking away of Connecticut charter; which the petitioners were by no means willing for. Therefore ſaid Agents returned in 1757; and ſaid committee wrote to Connecticut rulers againſt thoſe oppreſſions. And by their advice a proceſs in executive Courts was commenced, with a deſign of carrying it to England by way of appeal; but having proceeded ſome ways therein, they dropt it.

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

1. A Change among the Baptiſt Churches. 2. Eſpecially in Narraganſet. 3. Their Miſtakes did not hinder the prevailing of their Sentiments. 4. The Author's Caſe. 5. His Settlement in the Miniſtry. 6. How he became a Baptiſt. 7. Two General Meetings about it. 8. The true State of the Controverſy. 9. A new Baptiſt Church formed.

I. TIMOTHY PACKOM was an aged and pious member of the ſecond church in Newport, before a diviſion took place therein, in the following manner. Daniel Greene, a gifted member of it, experienced a ſudden turn in his mind, from general to particular redemption: And in the fall of 1739 James Brown joined with him, and brought a charge, in general terms, into their church againſt Elder Eyres, of his wanting the goſpel qualifications of an elder; and then named ſome inſtances of apparent anger and ſeverity againſt members who did not concur with his meaſures, to prove it. This cauſed much unhappineſs: At length on January 10, 1740, he read to the church a general confeſſion of his imperfections in thoſe reſpects; and they voted the ſame to be ſatisfactory. Said brethren enquired

enquired whether he meant to confeſs the particulars they had mentioned, but could obtain no anſwer from him, nor a copy of his confeſſion. This appeared ſo grievous that they went and complained of it to their brethren of North-Kingſtown, who ſent to enquire into the matter. For theſe things Greene and Brown were cenſured; and Packom and others joined with them, and carried their complaints to one general meeting of their churches at Swanzey, and to another at Providence; and not obtaining ſatisfaction, they formed a new church, and got ſome of their elders to ordain Mr. Packom as paſtor of it. And in 1742 they publiſhed a vindication of themſelves in theſe proceedings. But private letters afterwards from each of thoſe men, to Elder Eyres and his church, expreſs deep ſorrow for thoſe haſty proceedings, and their want of a fruitful underſtanding, humility and candour, with their zeal therein; for which they earneſtly deſired forgiveneſs. But not ſeeing their way clear to return into full fellowſhip with that church, a removal of their cenſure was denied them. Greene, in a letter July 2, 1745, gives the following as the chief reaſon why he could not commune with ſaid elder, viz. "So far as I can gather, thou believeſt, that man's ſalvation, conditionally beſtowable, is the free purchaſe of Jeſus Chriſt, and ſo the free gift of God: But then that the ſecurity of the beſtowment, or obtaining this ſalvation, doth turn and depend upon a condition, which is ſo left to man to perform, that it may or may not be performed; not as God himſelf ſhall be pleaſed abſolutely to cauſe, but as man, ſuppoſed to be a ſelf-inclining agent, ſhall of himſelf be diſpoſed, in the improvement or miſimprovement of divine aſſiſtance. Whereas I believe,

lieve, I think, with all my heart, that man is in no reſpect an independent agent; and that if he obtains ſalvation, it is not owing to himſelf at all; but that his ſalvation, and its whole ſecurity to him, depend altogether upon the free pleaſure and cauſation of Almighty God, who worketh all things according to the council of his own will, working in his children both to will and to do of his own good pleaſure." Such ideas, but not ſo clear, were impreſſed upon David Sprague's mind, before he began to preach, in the Baptiſt church in Scituate; where he was told, that if he went on in that way he would become as bad an *electioner* as any of the Preſbyterians. This, as he informed me, turned him in a great meaſure into their general way of preaching; and he was ſettled in that way, at North-Kingſtown, about the time of the aboveſaid diviſion at Newport.

II. By the labours of Separate miniſters many were converted, and a Baptiſt church was formed in Coventry, and a paſtor was ordained in it October 11, 1749. Elder Sprague went there, and was prevailed with to aſſiſt, with other Baptiſts, in that ordination. And he there got ſuch an acquaintance with ſome Separate elders, as to invite them to come and preach in the Narraganſent country. This was done with very extenſive effects; and Sprague was drawn ſo far as to act with Solomon Paine in Elder Babcock's ordination the next ſpring; which was then the firſt inſtance of the union of the two denominations in ſuch acts. The majority of the church at North-Kingſtown grew ſo uneaſy, that above ſeventy of them, male and female, ſigned a paper May 20, 1750, which divided the church. They therein repreſent, that their church was of about forty years ſtanding, and that good order had gene-

rally

rally been kept up in it, until within the laſt ſeven years. "Since that, ſay they, our elder and ſome of the brethren have imbibed doctrines which neither we nor our general community ever did chooſe ſhould be brought into the church. The doctrines crouded upon us were, 1. That Adam, by his eating the forbidden fruit, did bring mankind under condemnation in reſpect to the life which is to come at the day of judgment. 2. That every perſon who is truly converted, cannot, in the courſe of his life, ſin himſelf out of God's bleſſings at the day of judgment. 3. That it was a duty for Chriſtians to ſing, with loud and joined voices, with rhyme and tunes of man's compoſure, in public aſſemblies." Theſe doctrines and their effects were then ſhut out of their meeting-houſe; though they propoſed to leave it to others to ſettle the matter with their diſſenting brethren about their intereſt therein. Upon which Elder Sprague, and thoſe who were of his ſentiments, conſtituted a church in Exeter, and ſeveral other churches were ſoon after formed in thoſe parts, in fellowſhip with them.

III. SOME among them, who had been baptized in the time of their former darkneſs, were now baptized again; which moved Elder Eyres to write to Elder Sprague about it, December 1, 1750, and a ſtop was put thereto. Alſo a ſight of former diviſions, upon circumſtantials, carried a few ſo far into the oppoſite extreme, as to admit ſome to table communion without any water baptiſm at all. There were at leaſt two inſtances of this, the one at Exeter, the other at Warwick; but that practice was ſoon over. And theſe and other miſtakes could not hinder an extenſive ſpread of believers baptiſm among the Separate churches; whoſe

whoſe elders, Mack of Lyme, Stearns of Tolland*, Haſtings of Suffield, Meacham of Enfield, Marſhal of Somers, and others, were baptized. But fierce oppoſition being raiſed againſt what was called *rebaptizing*, which was repreſented to be a moſt wicked and pernicious thing, ſeveral teachers and others retracted their acting therein. And as the author's refuſing to follow their example brought him to be a public object of reſentment, and ſucceeding events have made him more extenſively ſo, a clear idea of this part of our hiſtory cannot be given, without a more diſtinct account of his perſonal conduct, and the motives thereof, than otherwiſe would have been expedient and becoming. This he thinks is confirmed by ancient examples. Acts xi. 2—18, xxii. 3—21.

IV. His being born of religious parents, and having a religious (though not what is called a liberal) education, he has ever eſteemed an unſpeakable favour. Yet he neglected the great ſalvation for more than ſeventeen years, becauſe he ſecretly imagined that it would abridge his preſent liberty and comfort; and alſo, that when he got ready to ſet about the work in good earneſt, God would be moved to help, pardon and ſave him. But in May, 1741, his eyes were opened to ſee, that time was not at his command, and that

* Elder Shubael Stearns (having baptized Noah Alden, in July, 1754, and left him to preach to the part of his ſociety who remained there) ſet off with others for North-Carolina; and he, Jonathan Polk, Daniel Marſhal, and others, were inſtrumental of a great work in thoſe parts. I am well informed that from thence have ſprung a large number of Baptiſt churches; which, by a bleſſing upon the ſucceeding labours of many, now extend through various parts of Virginia, North and South Carolina, and into Georgia.

that eternity was directly before him, into which he might juſtly be called the next moment. Then he knew what it was to work for his life for three months; until on Auguſt 24, as he was alone in the field, it was demonſtrated to his mind and conſcience, that he had done his utmoſt to make himſelf better, without obtaining any ſuch thing; but that he was a guilty ſinner in the hands of a holy God, who had a right to do with him as ſeemed good in God's ſight; which he then yielded to, and all his objections againſt it were ſilenced. And ſoon upon this a way of relief was opened to his ſoul, which he never had any true idea of before, wherein truth and juſtice ſhine with luſtre, in the beſtowment of free mercy and ſalvation upon objects who have nothing in themſelves but badneſs. And while this divine glory engaged all his attention, his burthen of guilt and evil diſpoſitions was gone, and ſuch ideas and inclinations were implanted in his heart as were never there before, but which have never been rooted out ſince, though often over-clouded. Hereupon he was led to make a profeſſion of religion, in the church where he had always attended worſhip, and to walk therein for about two years. But then their miniſter obtained a vote in the church, to empower him to admit communicants by a major vote, without giving the church ſo much as a written relation of any inward change. It alſo appeared that the miniſter inclined to think that the ordinance of the ſupper was a converting ordinance; and he diſcovered a ſtrong affection for the Saybrook ſcheme, which the church had rejected juſt before they ſettled him. The author therefore withdrew from that church, about the time that Canterbury church was robbed of their rights, in the manner before deſcribed.

deſcribed. He had no expectation of entering into the work of the miniſtry, until September, 1746; and the grounds he acted upon then are deſcribed in his diſcourſe, publiſhed eight years after, entituled, *The nature and neceſſity of an internal call to preach the goſpel.* The manner of his ſettling among the people he ſtill miniſters to, here follows.

V. In a place called Titicut, upon the river between Bridgwater and Middleborough, a powerful work was wrought, in and after the year 1741, chiefly by means of the preaching of Mr. Elieb Byram; which moved the people to petition for a new precinct, in order to ſettle him as their miniſter: But the matter was delayed until he was gone and ſettled in New-Jerſey. And after Titicut precinct was conſtituted, in February, 1743, miniſters refuſed to diſmiſs the communicants therein, ſo as to form a new church, leſt they ſhould call a miniſter whom they did not approve of. They were thus denied the rights which both the laws of God and man allowed them, until the brethren determined not to be reſtrained by ſuch tyranny any longer; but came out and began to worſhip by themſelves on December 13, 1747. The author was then unknown to them, and they to him; but by the diſpoſal of Providence he was brought among them the next Saturday, in company with Mr. Snow, of Providence, who ſtayed and laboured ten days with remarkable effects; and the author was prevailed with to tarry and preach among them. And the precinct committee, perceiving that open oppoſition would then be in vain, came and requeſted him to preach to them, and to take regular ſteps for ſettlement. He informed them, that he was willing to act regularly according to the goſpel, but could not ſubmit to the

the power that miniſters and pariſhes had aſſumed over the churches, which was contrary thereto. Yet they requeſted him, and he conſented, to preach to them for a while. Such a revival took place as produced the hopeful converſion of about twenty ſouls, and the quickening of many others. A church was formed February 16, 1748, which increaſed to threeſcore members in ten months. But the oppoſite party met in March, and voted a large ſum of money to finiſh their meeting-houſe, and to hire other ſort of preaching, and aſſeſſed it upon all the inhabitants. Therefore our ſociety, on November 21, drew an addreſs to them, to remind them of paſt tranſactions, and to invite them into a reconciliation; or, if not, yet to intreat them not to violate the golden rule in their dealings towards us. They returned an anſwer which ſays, "What we demand of you is equal and right; what you demand of us is evil and ſinful; and hence we have the golden rule upon our ſide, while you are receding and departing from it." And they went ſo far as to call it "Groſs ignorance and enthuſiaſm" for any to deny that Chriſtian rulers have a right to compel their ſubjects to receive and ſupport orthodox miniſters. And February 6, 1749, the author was ſeized as a priſoner, for Thirteen Shillings and Fourpence aſſeſſed upon him in ſaid tax. But as he refuſed to pay it, they after about three hours confinement ſettled it among themſelves. This was the beſt reward they ever offered him for preaching two months at their requeſt. One of his brethren was impriſoned at Plymouth for ſaid tax. But when diſtreſs was made upon another of his hearers, they were proſecuted therefor, and it was found upon trial that ſaid money was voted at an illegal meeting. They therefore appealed to the Superior Court; and in the mean

mean time, on December 14, 1749, procured an act of the Legiſlature which ſays, "That the proceedings of the meeting mentioned in the petition be and they hereby are held and deemed good and valid in law, the defect of the notification for calling ſaid meeting notwithſtanding." And by virtue of this act the caſe was turned againſt the appellee in the next trial; which ſhews that a worſhip ſupported by tax, is *partiality* eſtabliſhed by law. In June preceding a memorial againſt it was carried to the Aſſembly at Boſton, by Mr. John Paine, and Mr. Samuel Peck, ſigned by a large number of men; but it was rejected; as a like memorial alſo was in 1754.

VI. As to baptiſm, diſputes about it were firſt brought into the church in Titicut in Auguſt, 1749; and a diſagreeable temper was ſoon diſcovered, and much heat in debates, for three weeks. And as the author was eſſaying, in his ſecret approaches to the throne of grace, to give up this caſe to God, a ſudden concluſion came in, that the Baptiſt way is certainly right, becauſe nature fights ſo againſt it. And he was hurried on to preach it up the next day; which cauſed confuſion among the hearers, and returned with a horrible gloom over his own mind; and he was turned back to his former practice. Hereupon a number of the church drew off, and ten perſons were baptized in September by Elder Moulton. About three months after, when the heat of controverſy was abated, the queſtion was put to his conſcience, in his retired hours, Where is it, and in what relation to the church do thoſe ſtand, who are baptized, but not converted? He could ſee that all the circumciſed were obliged to keep the paſſover; and had ſeen that there was no half-way in the Chriſtian church, nor any warrant

rant to admit any to communion therein without a credible profeſſion of ſaving faith. No tongue can tell the diſtreſs he now felt. The neglect of goſpel diſcipline a little before, lay heavy upon his mind; and the diſputes and diviſions in the church greatly added to his burthen. And near the cloſe of 1749. a number of people in Eaſton and Norton made ſo high a profeſſion of being led into believers baptiſm, that no ordained miniſter in the land would do to adminiſter it to them. But they met by a place of water, and one would baptize another, and then he the next; ſo that about twenty perſons were dipped, by four or five adminiſtrators among themſelves. Parting from their lawful wives and huſbands, and taking of others, immediately followed; until ſome baſtard children were born among them, with many other abominations. Could the author therefore have diſcovered any foundation for his former practice, he would moſt certainly have continued therein: But all his efforts failing, he was at laſt brought to the old ſtandard; ſo as to leave good men and bad men out of the queſtion, and enquire, *what ſaith the ſcripture?* Hereby a ſettlement was granted, and he was baptized Auguſt 22, 1751.

VII. The difficulties were become ſo great in the church, that a mutual Council of five churches was called, October 2; who after long labour brought ſixteen members to renew their covenant to go on together, and the Council declared fellowſhip with them, and cenſured all the reſt, and ſolemnly charged thoſe ſixteen to follow all the other members with labour, until they were recovered to fellowſhip, or cut off by diſcipline. Three of the ſixteen were Baptiſts, and no hint was given of breaking communion between the two denominations. The author had no objection then againſt

their advice, but was held back about a month by inward diſcouragements. But getting relief therefrom, he came forward, and was freely received in his office by all but two of thoſe brethren; and they refuſed to receive him, unleſs he would baptize infants. A cloſe labour was hereby brought on, and it was moſt fully declared, that we meant to give free liberty to every one to act according to his conſcience in that reſpect; but to require a man to adminiſter an ordinance in the name of God, which he ſaw no command for, was requiring him to wrong his own conſcience, to ſatisfy others. Yet thoſe two brethren, who had lately renewed their covenant, refuſed to walk with their elder, or with thoſe who received him, unleſs he would ſprinkle infants. For this ſchiſm in the body they were cenſured; and, after ten months labours, were excommunicated. In the midſt of which time five Baptiſts were cenſured for refuſing to commune with this body. Thoſe two were no ſooner caſt out than they ſent for three of the churches who were of the former Council, who met here November 1, 1752, and fully juſtified them, and cenſured all who had acted againſt them, and declared that unleſs they manifeſted repentance therefor, they muſt *mark and avoid them*. Strangers cannot conceive how unaccountable it appeared, for eminent fathers thus to treat their children this year, for acting according to their own ſolemn charge the year before. It alarmed the Baptiſts in general, and our elders Sprague, Babcock and Worden, being ſent for, met here in Council January 31, 1753; and, in conjunction with many of both denominations that came, they appointed a general meeting of theſe churches, and ſent out citations therefor. In anſwer to which twenty-ſeven churches met at Exeter, May 23, and unanimouſly

unanimouſly agreed, that a turning to or from infant baptiſm was not a cenſurable evil; but that each ſhould leave the other with God, according to Phil. iii. 15. And by their advice a Council met at Middleborough July 11; under whoſe influence thoſe cenſures, both of the two and of the five members, were revoked, and fellowſhip was again declared with this church. But the elders at Canterbury and Plainfield refuſed to come to the Exeter meeting, or to concur with theſe ſubſequent acts. For this Elder Babcock refuſed to act with Elder Paine in an ordination at Stonington, May 29, 1753, though he did not then give his reaſons therefor. And becauſe he afterwards gave them to that church, and they ſent to Canterbury to enquire into the matter, a proceſs was commenced againſt Babcock as a tranſgreſſor, for laying in complaints againſt his brethren to another church than their own. This charge was carried to his church, but not ſucceeding there, Paine joined with Babcock, in calling a general meeting at Stonington May 29, 1754, to ſearch into theſe matters, that the churches might come into a goſpel ſettlement. Elders and brethren from forty churches then met, viz. from twenty-four in Connecticut, eight in the Maſſachuſetts, ſeven in Rhode-Iſland, and one on Long-Iſland. After long and tedious debates, the queſtion was put to every member of the conference, whether any juſt cauſe of offence was given to the Baptiſts in the reſult at Middleborough of November 1, 1752? Thirty-ſeven ſaid nay; thirty-five ſaid yea, and ſeven choſe to be ſilent about it. And after hard attempts to caſt the blame of the breach upon the Baptiſts, and manifeſting a willingneſs to commune with Chriſtians who wanted light for infant baptiſm, Mr. Paine and ſundry others declar-

ed

ed non-communion with ſuch as profeſſed to have light againſt it. I now find, that on the back of the paper which called his brother over from Long-Iſland to this meeting at Stonington, Eliſha has ſtated the queſtion in theſe words, viz.

VIII. "A HOLDS out his principles. 1. He declares he will adminiſter baptiſm to none but adult believers. 2. That he will go to any church, and baptize all perſons that were baptized in infancy, if they will declare they were diſſatisfied with their infant baptiſm. B holds out his principles, and declares that he will adminiſter baptiſm to all adult believers and their infant ſeed, and that he doth it in the name of the Trinity, in obedience of a divine precept. Now the queſtion is, be theſe two perſons agreed in their principles? or will there be any eſſential difference between their practice, if they practiſe according to their profeſſed principles? Is it a matter of indifference for a paſtor of a church to ſay, he baptizes an infant in the name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghoſt, in the fulfilment of a divine precept? My dear brother, if you can reconcile the above principles, in the eſſential parts thereof, you will remove all the grounds of bars and diſputes: But if there be an eſſential difference in the above articles, and conſequently in the practice on them, then there is an Achan in the camp; and no marvel that Iſrael hath, in all reformations, been troubled therewith. Either B ſins in making infants the ſubjects of baptiſm, or A in cutting them off. Now it is clear to me, that infants were once the ſubjects to be ſealed with the ſeal of Abraham's faith; therefore, if I allow a perſon to have Abraham's faith, I muſt ſhew that God hath forbid the ſeal to be put to their ſeed, or elſe forbid it in my own name;

for

for there is but one covenant of grace, and that had Abraham's ſeed in it. Now if we allow a perſon to have Abraham's faith, why not his privilege? I pray God to pinch up our minds, until the troubler be found; for it is not a diviſion between Pedo and Antipedobaptiſts, but promiſcuouſly runs through the body of Chriſtians, and will rend all cords of union between the dear lambs of God but what are made by human and party bands. Oh! my dear brethren! if God hath cut off infants, by forbidding water to be put on them, let us never tolerate the practice of putting it on; but if not, let none dare to forbid it, but do it in proper office and time."

Thus ſpake that eminent father of theſe churches; though the author then knew nothing of it, and never ſaw him nor his brother after that meeting*. A ſtrong perſuaſion was ſtill held by many, that if a right temper was in exerciſe, Chriſtians might and ought to commune together, although of different judgments about baptiſm. The author and his church laboured earneſtly to go on in that way; but when ſome pious members manifeſted a belief of duty to be buried in baptiſm, others refuſed to go to the water to ſee it done, becauſe, in their view, they were already baptized, and to repeat it would be taking the ſacred name in vain. And when an elder came and ſprinkled ſome infants, the Baptiſts felt a like difficulty, though they did not leave the meeting where it was done. Being unwilling to part, attempts were made to convince each other, which led into warm debates; to avoid which, at the next meeting, each one was afraid to

* Mr. Solomon Paine died, after a ſhort illneſs, October 25, 1754; as Mr. Stevens alſo did November 13, 1755. They were principal leaders among thoſe churches.

to mention the ſubject, leſt it ſhould cauſe diſputes. Thus edification, the great end of Chriſtian ſociety, was marred inſtead of being promoted, by that which is called large communion. It was ſo far from anſwering to that name, that, with their utmoſt endeavours, the author and his brethren could never arrive at communion in the ordinance of the ſupper, from September, 1754, to the end of 1755. To be unſettled in religious matters was very diſagreeable to the author; but he could not avoid a freſh ſearch into the cauſe of theſe difficulties.

The arguments of the beloved Bunyan, for a free communion with all ſaints, had before appeared concluſive to him and others; but a review of them diſcovered his miſtakes. One argument is, that plain laws of old were ſometimes diſpenſed with; as circumciſion was omitted in the wilderneſs; David eat of the ſhew-bread that was not lawful for him, and the people in Hezekiah's time eat of the paſſover, otherwiſe than it was written. But it was found upon ſearch, that each of theſe were extraordinary caſes, which were not repeated; and therefore could afford no plea for diſpenſing with rule at ordinary times. And as to Bunyan's capital argument, which is, *God hath received them*, therefore we ought to; it was obſerved, that his example is often inimitable by us; but as far as it is imitable, it is always *in the truth*. Hence truth is never to be violated for any one, no, not to ſave natural life, which all lawful means ſhould be uſed to preſerve. And truth ſo clearly requires baptiſm before the ſupper, that Pedobaptiſts do never come to the table with any but ſuch as are baptized in their eſteem. Neither could we underſtandingly act in being buried

in

in baptiſm, until we were convinced that what was done to us in infancy was not goſpel baptiſm; therefore to commune at the Lord's table with any who were only ſprinkled in infancy, is parting with truth, by practically ſaying they are baptized, when we do not believe they are. I ſince find that the learned and pious Dr. Watts allows this argument to be juſt*, though many ſtill wrangle againſt it.

IX. A NUMBER of brethren being convinced that though freedom towards all men ought to be ſhown, as far as it can be in the truth, yet that truth limits church communion to believers baptized upon a profeſſion of their own faith, conſtituted a church at Middleborough, in this way, on January 26, 1756; and, by aſſiſtance from Boſton and Rehoboth, the author was inſtalled their paſtor the 23d of July following. Having in the mean time publiſhed a diſcourſe from Gal. iv. 31, to ſhew that Abraham's firſt ſon that was circumciſed was the *ſon of the bond-woman*, an emblem of the national church of the Jews; in diſtinction from regenerate ſouls, the *ſpiritual ſeed of Abraham*, of whom the Chriſtian church was conſtituted; into which neither natural birth, nor the doings of others, can rightly bring any one ſoul, without their own conſent. Upon theſe principles was the firſt Baptiſt church in Plymouth county then founded; it being the firſt of this perſuaſion, in an extent of country above an hundred miles long, from Bellingham to the end of Cape-Cod, and near fifty miles wide, betwixt Boſton and Rehoboth, wherein are now ſeventeen churches.

MEN who regard carnal eaſe, or temporal honor and intereſt, more than truth, cannot be pleaſed with

* Rational foundation of the Chriſtian church, p. 189, 260.

with the foregoing account of things; but their ſcorn or rage is contemptible, when compar- with the divine favour or diſpleaſure. Young Chriſtians who highly regard God's favour and fear his frowns, yet are far from being aware of how nearly truth and error may be blended in honeſt minds; and nothing can teach them the nature and effects thereof like experience. The Spirit of Truth taught Peter that Jeſus was the Chriſt the Son of the living God: But Peter was greatly miſtaken, in concluding from thence that he had inherent ſtrength enough to die for his Saviour. On the day of Pentecoſt he and others received vaſtly greater light and ſtrength; yet how much were they ſtill miſtaken in ſuppoſing that all who were converted to Chriſtianity muſt be circumciſed? And though a new viſion from heaven taught Peter to go freely to the Gentiles, yet what *diſſimulation* was he and Barnabas afterwards inſnared in about thoſe matters! Gal. ii. 11—14. Great care is ever to be taken, not to condemn any thing but what is really evil, nor to expoſe what is ſo unneceſſarily. If the author has done either in the preceding narrative, he deſires to lie open to conviction. It is drawn from a large number of original papers and records, which any who deſire it are welcome to ſee. His experience in theſe affairs has very ſenſibly taught him, that miſtaken concluſions are often drawn from good premiſes; and alſo, that wrong judgments are the natural effect of erroneous principles. In particular that truth is not to be embraced only becauſe nature fights againſt it, nor rejected becauſe bad men have profeſſed it, or good men have fought againſt it. Alſo that the holding of internal union as the rule of church communion, naturally leads to the cenſuring of brethren of both denominations,

denominations, if they refuſe to act according to that rule, which is making our affection to creatures the ſtandard inſtead of the revealed will of God. Likewiſe to cenſure ſerious Chriſtians, becauſe of difference in opinion about worſhip, in the ſame manner as if they were guilty of a plain breach of moral precept, is doubtleſs erroneous. In a word, truth is to be received and held for its own ſake, and not upon any exterior motives; and it is never to be violated or forſaken for any conſideration whatſoever.

CHAP. XII.

1. Diviſions among the Learned. 2. Orthodoxy attacked, under the Name of Bigotry and Tyranny. 3. Wallingford Ordination. 4. Remarks thereon. 5. Other Diviſions in Connecticut. 6. The like in the Maſſachuſetts. 7. Mayhew and Cleaveland's Controverſy. 8. Arminianiſm expoſed.

I. LITTLE do men know of themſelves, until they are tried; and as little do they know of the deſigns of the Moſt High, when he is trying of them. When Mr. Devenport judged Mr. Noyes to be unconverted, an ample teſtimony was publiſhed in his favour, by Preſident Clap, and others*.

* Chauncy's thoughts, p. 158—161.

But the ſame man was judged to be heterodox, by the ſame Preſident, eight or nine years after; and then himſelf went to the ſame Separate meeting that he had cenſured others for going to. And at a meeting of the Corporation of Yale college, November 21, 1751, it was reſolved that no member of the Corporation, nor officer of inſtruction therein, ſhould hereafter be admitted, until he had given his explicit conſent to their ancient forms of orthodoxy, and renounced all oppoſite principles. And that as this was a known condition of their admiſſion, if any of them ſhould afterwards embrace a contrary ſyſtem, common honeſty would oblige them to own it, and to reſign their places. It was likewiſe reſolved, that if any of their members or officers ſhould be ſuſpected of heterodoxy, he ſhould be brought upon examination before ſaid Corporation*. In 1753 an act of their Legiſlature was procured, to eſtabliſh a profeſſorſhip of divinity in the college; which terminated in ſetting up worſhip on the Lord's days, and the gathering of a church therein. A great noiſe, in print and otherwiſe, was made about theſe proceedings; which had ſo much influence about this time, as to cut off an annual grant of an Hundred Pounds from the government to the Preſident, which has not been reſtored ſince. Much pains were taken, by him and others, to prove that none but orthodox miniſters ought ever to be elected as members of the college Corporation.

II. In the mean time, contentions about biſhoprics, among Preſbyterian miniſters, turned many over to Epiſcopacy; and very tedious controverſies were carried on, about the validity of Preſbyterian ordination, and other points connected therewith.

* Clap's hiſtory of Yale college, p. 14, 15.

therewith. So much ſmoke and duſt was raiſed hereby, as opened a pleaſing proſpect to a number of expelling the ancient plan of orthodoxy, under the name of bigotry and tyranny; which ſaid they "Degrades men from their juſt rank, into the claſs of brutes. It damps their ſpirits. It ſuppreſſes arts. It extinguiſhes every ſpark of noble ardour and generoſity in the breaſts of thoſe who are enſlaved by it.——There are virtuous and candid men in all ſects; all ſuch are to be eſteemed: There are alſo vicious men and *bigots* in all ſects; all ſuch ought to be *deſpiſed* *." And the writer of this became, for ſixteen years, the moſt popular author in New-England. He got ſo far in five years, as to inſinuate that the doctrine of three eternal perſons in the Godhead came from the Pope or a General Council, and that it ought to be treated with contempt. And he aſſerted, "That the ſcripture teaches no ſuch doctrine as that of God's *imputing* the perfect righteouſneſs of Chriſt to ſinners for juſtification ‡." Four ſenior miniſters of Boſton joined upon this occaſion in publiſhing a teſtimony for the eſſential and eternal deity of our Saviour, and in expreſſing their grief at what had lately been publiſhed againſt it; but as they did not mention his name, he let it paſs with contempt. But his party in Connecticut ſoon after could not help diſcovering themſelves very plainly.

III. The Baptiſt meeting at Wallingford was removed twenty miles, to Southington, four years before Mr. Whittleſey died, in 1756. Yet in two years, among twenty candidates whom they tried, they could not agree in the ſettlement of a miniſter in that pariſh. Therefore on April 26, 1758,

* Preface to Mayhew's myſtery of Charles's martyrdom, 1750.
‡ His ſermons, 1755, p. 147, 417, 418.

1758, four miniſters adviſed them to ſend to Cambridge for a candidate; in compliance wherewith a man came, highly recommended, from thence. And in June they gave him a call to ſettle, with an offer of Two Hundred Pounds ſettlement, and a ſalary of Eighty Pounds the firſt year, Ninety the ſecond, and an Hundred a year ever after, as long as he continued their miniſter. This call he carried to Cambridge, where he was adviſed to accept of it; and he returned and publiſhed his acceptance thereof, and his ordination was appointed to be on October 11. And now we are to ſee more of what their Saybrook platform is. Like civil Courts, it does not hinder perſons and ſocieties from voluntary agreements among themſelves, where there is no oppoſition; but when contentions break out, it was deſigned as a known and fixed tribunal, within each circuit, ſo that no party might have "*Liberty* to chooſe their own Council where they pleaſed;" as Dr. Cotton Mather declares, who well underſtood it*. Yet in this caſe, though much oppoſition aroſe againſt ſaid candidate, before his ordination was appointed, his party ſent for ſeveral miniſters out of the Maſſachuſetts, for one out of the county of Hartford, as well as for ſuch as ſuited them in their own county, to be the ordaining Council §. Before their call was given, a Juſtice of the Peace, who was a father in that church, went to talk with their candidate about his doctrine; but was anſwered in a ſhort and angry manner; and the candidate ſaid, "He was too young to be examined; and if there were any objections againſt what he had delivered in preaching, he would anſwer them before the ordaining Council." To this teſtimony the Juſtice has

* Ratio Diciplinæ, p. 183. § Todd, p. 11.

has ſigned his name. Two others of the ſociety alſo certify, that they waited upon him ſome time before his ſettlement and ſalary were voted, to obtain ſatisfaction about his principles; "And particularly deſired him to let them know his ſentiments with regard to original ſin, and the ſaints perſeverance; the power of free-will, and falling from grace;" but he refuſed to tell them†. Therefore the Conſociation was convened at Wallingford, the day before the time appointed for his ordination, to hear and act upon a complaint exhibited againſt ſaid candidate; but he and his party proteſted againſt their meeting at that time, and refuſed to be tried by them. And a miniſter from Hingham, in the Maſſachuſetts, and ſix more of thoſe who were ſent for, formed themſelves into a Council, and went into their meeting-houſe, and heard the candidate for ordination vindicate himſelf, before judges that his accuſers refuſed to be tried by. Though while they were there, they received a paper, ſigned by ninety-five inhabitants of that pariſh, who were in poſſeſſion of about half the freehold eſtate therein, deſiring them not to proceed in the ordination. With this paper came a meſſage from their Conſociation, warning and beſeeching them not then to proceed: Yet in the face of all this, thoſe miniſters went on and ordained ſaid candidate, as the paſtor of that pariſh. Such an inſtance was never before known in this land; therefore their Conſociation adjourned, and called in the ſouthern Conſociation of Hartford county to act with them in the affair. But all their united efforts could not bring ſaid party to ſubmit to a trial before them; therefore, at their meeting of April 3, 1759, the ſentence of non-communion was

† Eells, p. 9, 10.

was paſſed againſt the miniſter ſo ordained in the firſt ſociety in Wallingford, and againſt the members who ſhould continue with him. And the miniſters of that county who acted in that ordination were declared to be *diſorderly perſons*, unworthy to ſit in any of their Councils, until they gave ſatisfaction for that offence; and theſe were Joſeph Noyes, Iſaac Stiles, and Chauncy Whittleſey of New-Haven, Samuel Whittleſey of Milford, Theophilus Hall of Meriden, and Jonathan Todd of Eaſt-Guilford*. The laſt of theſe, with Mr. William Hart of Saybrook (who collected many ſtories againſt the New-Lights†) wrote in favour of that ordination; and Mr. Edward Eells and Mr. Noah Hobart wrote againſt it. Two of theſe *diſorderly* miniſters were ſons to the former miniſter of Wallingford, and the ſecond of them was the tutor for whoſe ſake David Brainard was expelled the college: And his father was Moderator of the Conſociation that depoſed Mr. Timothy Allen from his paſtoral office, at a meeting which was not called for that end‡. Mr. Robbins was now one of their judges, in an affair which affords many uſeful leſſons.

IV. HERE we may ſee how SELF can blind the children of men. The ſcene of theſe actions was in the ſame town, from whence all their actings againſt him originated. He only preached there occaſionally; they ſettled a miniſter in the pariſh. He acted againſt the requeſt of two miniſters, and forty-two inhabitants; they againſt the Conſociation of the county, and ninety-five inhabitants. In the firſt caſe the Saybrook platform was fairly renounced, and the oracles of God received in its

* Eells, p. 32—48.
† Chauncy's thoughts, p. 183—195. ‡ Ibid. p. 215.

its ſtead; in the other, thoſe miniſters only proteſted againſt the meeting upon it, at that time*; but intended to act upon it themſelves afterwards, when a "Smart young gentleman from Cambridge" ſhould have effected an agreeable change among them†. Robbins's plea for liberty of conſcience was rejected, and his confeſſions alſo; becauſe, ſay they, "The Council at Guilford did not ſit to make a number of *new laws*, by virtue of ſome legiſlative power in themſelves, but ſat to enquire what were the laws of Chriſt. He omits to tell the world, that the Aſſociation enquired of him, whether, in his third confeſſion, he acknowledged the tranſgreſſion of any law of God, in any reſpect, and that he declared to them *he did not*. Would any one expect that the Aſſociation would ſit to hear one *ſlam* after another§!" But now what terrible invaſions are made upon *their* rights and liberties! Firſt it is ſaid, "The complainants were their own members, and have no right by the conſtitution to call a Conſociation to ſit in judgment upon them, and exerciſe juriſdiction over them. They are a Congregational church, having power of church diſcipline within themſelves; and the conſtitution ſecures them in the peaceable enjoyment of the Congregational privileges, and did not ſubject them to the proſecution of their own members." And ſays their advocate, "It always appeared to me a thing not only *unprecedented* and *unconſtitutional*, but *cruel*¶, to adviſe the Moderator to call the Conſociation upon a complaint againſt the church, without letting

* Todd, p. 25. † Todd, p. 4. Eells, p. 10.

§ Their anſwer to Robbins, p. 8, 9.

¶ How cruel then were they, in all their proceedings, againſt the miniſter of Branford!

ting the church know that any complaint was exhibited againſt them, or giving them opportunity to ſhew, if they were able, that there was no occaſion therefor." And he inſinuates that the love of money had ſome influence in raiſing oppoſition againſt that ordination‖. At the ſame time Mr. Hart (his ſecond in this affair) has recourſe to the laws of England, about the *induction* of miniſters into profitable livings, to vindicate their ordination of ſaid teacher at Wallingford; which word *induction* had been made uſe of by Epiſcopalians, in the Colony of New-York, to rob Preſbyterians of their rights*; becauſe it was ſaid in the Conſociation, "The conſtitution is in danger of being overſet, but it is better that the *Arminians* do it than we;" they ſaid, "It certainly muſt be a very wicked thing, to dub men heretics, brand them with ill names, and aſcribe to them principles that they diſclaim, only to compaſs ſome particular deſigns‡." But one of their moſt knowing and candid miniſters aſſures us, that he never heard any of them ſo ſpoken of ſince, who had not the ſame character before†. And it is certain, that all their proceedings againſt Mr. Robbins were upon the complaints of a ſmall party, contrary to the minds of a large majority, both of his church and congregation. And thoſe attempts were to root out a miniſter who was well ſettled; theſe were to ſettle one who had preached in the place but a few weeks before he received his call, when the oppoſition openly appeared. From all which we learn, that what they call free-will power, is a power to conform to or diſpenſe with rule, divine or human, as they judge beſt, and to plead liberty

‖ Todd, p. 9, 14, 26.
* Hobart, p. 31. ‡ Todd, p. 72. † Hobart, p. 36.

liberty of conſcience for ſo doing. Yea, a liberty to brand diſſenters from their judgments with as many ill names as they pleaſe, but to deny that liberty to others concerning themſelves. From hence we alſo learn, that their Conſociation power over the churches, inſtead of preventing, *cauſeth diviſions and offences*, contrary to the doctrine of Chriſt. It now cauſed a diviſion in Wallingford, and thoſe who adhered to the ancient faith of their churches were forced to draw off, and form another church, and ſettle another miniſter; and the ſecular arm, from whence their Conſociation power was derived and is ſupported, upholds ſaid miniſter in that place, and has called him to preach an election ſermon at Hartford, whoſe name and title now is James Dana, D. D.

V. THESE remarks are greatly confirmed by ſucceeding events. Sandeman's letters on Theron and Aſpaſio came out in 1758, which give thoſe teachers a moſt ſevere laſhing who point their hearers to ſomething good in themſelves, for encouragement, inſtead of Chriſt's finiſhed atonement. Mr. Ebenezer White, of Danbury, readily adopted theſe ſentiments, and moſt of his hearers alſo; but a minor part of them were ſo much diſpleaſed therewith, as to enter a complaint againſt him to the eaſtern Aſſociation of Fairfield county. Upon hearing of which, he and a large majority of his church met June 28, 1763, and renounced the Saybrook platform; though they did not withdraw their fellowſhip from the churches that were under it. In Auguſt the Conſociation in that circuit met at Danbury, and viewing the caſe to be difficult, they adjourned, and called in the weſtern Conſociation of that county, to act with them. After much labour, at their meeting of

March 27, 1764, they rejected Mr. White and the majority of his church, as men who had ſeparated from their conſtitution; and owned the minority who adhered to it as the firſt church and ſociety in Danbury, declaring that they were releaſed from all obligations to Mr. White as their miniſter, and that the Conſociation could not recommend him as ſuch to any other people, until he gave them ſatisfaction. But this laſt clauſe was proteſted againſt as unreaſonably ſevere, by five miniſters of their number*. Mr. Izrahiah Wetmore was one of them, who in an election ſermon at Hartford nine years after gave an explicit teſtimony againſt any attempts to eſtabliſh the church of Chriſt by human laws. Another of them was Mr. David Judſon, of Newtown, who in 1770 renounced the Saybrook ſcheme, as his church alſo did in 1773; and ſeveral meetings of the Conſociation were called upon it, and pamphlets were publiſhed againſt them by Mr. Judſon, and for them by Mr. Robert Roſs†.

VI. If we again turn our eyes to Boſton, the ſame temper preſents itſelf to view. The Separate ſociety, that began there in 1742, growing ſmall, diſmiſſed their miniſter, and diſſolved their ſociety; and a pariſh upon Caſco-Bay called and ſettled him as

* White's narrative, p. 22, 23.

† In 1762 Mr. Roſs publiſhed a laboured piece at New-Haven, againſt the Baptiſts and others, who had ſeparated from his party; wherein he advanced facts and arguments to prove them to be deluded enthuſiaſts. One of his plaineſt facts is, that a few fooliſh people at Wrentham, an hundred and ſixty miles from him, once ventured to appoint a time to ordain a miniſter over them, who had not conſented thereto; and they were confounded in it. His plaineſt argument, to prove that the Baptiſts and others are a deluded people, is in theſe words, viz. "If you had not embraced ſome errors about experimental religion, why do you ſeparate FROM US!" *Roſs's addreſs*, p. 45, 105.

as their paſtor. This diſpleaſed a few of the inhabitants ſo much, that they brought their complaints to Boſton, in 1760; and were not only ſet off themſelves to another pariſh, but procured a general law of the Province to prohibit the ſettling of any miniſter for the future, in their way, who had not an academical degree, or an approbation from the majority of the ſettled miniſters of the county where the pariſh lies. At the ſame time their Grand Jury, in their ſeveral County Courts, were charged by the Judges from year to year to enter complaints upon oath againſt every pariſh that neglected to ſettle and ſupport an orthodox miniſter. But about this time an Epiſcopal church was erected near the college in Cambridge, whoſe miniſter, at the opening of it, exclaimed moſt bitterly againſt the fathers of New-England, and their doctrines, and publiſhed ſome high commendations of the Epiſcopal way. This moved the popular author before named, at Boſton, to appear againſt that party. And having quoted the 9th, 11th, 13th and 17th articles of the church of England, which ſpeak of original ſin, juſtification by faith in Chriſt's imputed righteouſneſs, works done before juſtification, and of predeſtination and election, he ſays, "To ſpeak ſincerely, I own it is my *private* opinion, that it has been too common a thing for people in New-England to expreſs themſelves in a manner *juſtly exceptionable* upon theſe points, however agreeably both to the *letter and ſpirit* of the articles aforeſaid; but yet, I believe, not more exceptionably than many eminent divines of the church of England did in the laſt century *." This laſt remark is undoubtedly juſt; but can any ſay ſo of what follows?

VII. The

* Mayhew's obſervations upon the Epiſcopal ſociety, 1763, p. 91, 92.

VII. The eldeſt of the two brothers who were expelled out of Yale college publiſhed an eſſay at Boſton, to prove that two of this author's ſermons were erroneous, about the perſon and atonement of Chriſt. Directly upon which it was declared in ſome of the Boſton papers, "That it was as much out of character for a gentleman of the Doctor's reputation to enter into a controverſy with Mr. Cleaveland, as it would for a general of an army to accept of a challenge from a ſubaltern." To which was ſoon added, *A letter of reproof to Mr. John Cleaveland, of Ipſwich, by Jonathan Mayhew*, D.D. Therein the author of the eſſay was conſidered "As a perſon unworthy to be *reaſoned* with." Saying, "It was my determination from the firſt, not to enter into a diſpute with ſuch a *wrong-headed* and *worſe-hearted wretch!*——Had I not a right to ſpeak my ſentiments upon theſe points? If you diſliked them, could you not content yourſelf with preaching your own? Or, if you muſt needs publiſh them, would it not have been more *decent* and *expedient* for you to do it, without engaging in a perſonal controverſy *with me?* Would not any end you could propoſe to yourſelf have been anſwered as well, though you had never mentioned *my name**?" Upon which it was obſerved, that the eternal Jehovah ſays to wrong-headed and worſe-hearted ſinners, *come now and let us reaſon together*; which this great pretender to virtue and liberty was unwilling to do with a fellow-miniſter! but would have it eſteemed an *indecent* as well as an *inexpedient* attempt, for ſuch as did not ſtand in ſo high a claſs as himſelf to expoſe his inconſiſtencies and errors†. A ſight of theſe things moved Preſident Clap, and the Corporation of Yale college,

* Letter of reproof, p. 4, 20, 39.
† Cleaveland's reply, 1765, p. 3, 14.

college, to ſend to Mr. Cleaveland a degree of maſter of arts, in 1764, as they afterwards did to his brother. Yet when Mayhew died June 9, 1766, Chauncy gave him a high character, in a funeral ſermon, and reflected upon his anſwerer, calling him "An obſcure perſon, without reputation;" but he could not at the ſame time conceal his own corruption.

VIII. For Robert Sandeman, whoſe writings had made a great ſtir in this country, came over from Scotland, and landed at Boſton in October, 1764, and gathered a church in Boſton, another in Providence, and a third in Danbury. Therefore, to guard againſt his influence, Chauncy publiſhed a volume of ſermons in 1765, wherein he gives his ideas concerning fundamental points in the following words. Says he, "The original promiſe of life was not ſuſpended upon *perfect obedience* to what is commonly called *the natural or moral law of God.* In contradiction hereto, I know it is ſaid, by *moſt* Chriſtian writers, that the firſt man was ſo placed under this law, that he muſt work his way to life by *perfectly* doing all things commanded by it; inſomuch that he could not have obtained it but by a perſevering obedience in every point of duty, without the leaſt failure. But this is ſaid entirely without book. The ſcripture nowhere inſinuates, that he was under *ſuch a covenant of works.* It ſuggeſts, on the contrary, that God, in favour to him, did not put him upon ſo *ſevere* a trial for life. His trial, if we may believe the ſacred record of it, was in a *ſingle inſtance*, and this not of doing, but of forbearing to do.—That which was made the teſt of Adam's ſubjection to God, was a command not of the moral but poſitive kind; a command, not deducible from reaſon, but known only by revelation.——It would

would be the exact truth, ſhould I ſay, that the firſt parents of men, while innocent, in common with their poſterity ſince the elapſe, could have obtained life in no way but that *of grace through faith.*" And after a laboured criticiſm upon Rom. v. 12, he ſays, "The judicial ſentence of God, occaſioned by the offence of one man, is that which faſtens *death*, with all its natural cauſes and appendages, upon the human kind; and 'tis IN CONSEQUENCE of this ſentence, UPON mens coming into exiſtence under the diſadvantages ariſing from it, that they *ſin* themſelves *." This is his account, accented in this manner. From whence we may ſee, that his principles were contrary to moſt Chriſtian writers about original righteouſneſs, original ſin, the nature of grace, and the juſtice of God in his government of the world. For the moral law is to love God with all our powers, and to love our neighbours as ourſelves; which can never be called *ſevere*, without implicitly denying his infinite excellency and righteouſneſs. And though the precept concerning the forbidden fruit could only be known by pure revelation, yet by violating of it man revolted from heaven, and ſeized upon the earth as his own; and we are all born in that ſtate of revolt, which is original ſin. And grace and works are as diſtinct as *wages* and *gifts*, Rom. vi. 23, xi. 6. Wages cannot be juſtly claimed but upon doing the work; while the moſt proper ſubjects of gifts are ſuch as are ſenſibly guilty and helpleſs. Neither can the juſtice of God, in ſending death upon infants, be clearly vindicated in any other way, than by viewing them as ſinners in our firſt public head. And to deny God's right to conſtitute him as ſuch, implicitly

* Chauncy's twelve ſermons, p. 18—20, 23.

plicitly militates againſt his juſtifying ſouls by the imputed righteouſneſs of the ſecond Adam.

CHAP. XIII.

1. Dark and trying Times. 2. But Light broke forth in various Places. 3. A Door opened for the Removal of ancient Prejudices. 4. Writings to prevent it. 5. And cruel Oppreſſion. 6. To which very mean Practices were added. 7. Groſs Inconſiſtencies diſcovered.

1. DIVISIONS and perverſe diſputings, in all parts of the land, brought the churches into terrible circumſtances; and each party were ready to caſt the blame of it upon others. And a national war began in 1755, which ever tends to corrupt the morals, as well as to deſtroy the property and lives of men. Its influence was very extenſive; and it iſſued in February, 1763, in the ceſſion of the whole continent of America North of the Miſſiſippi to the Crown of Great-Britain; a vaſt territory indeed. Many rejoiced greatly upon this occaſion, imagining that our wars, which for near a century had been frequent and very diſtreſſing, were now come to an end. But, alas! to the whole Britiſh empire, theſe were but the beginning of ſorrows. Upon the conqueſt of Quebec, Governor Wentworth, of New-Hampſhire, appointed a public thankſgiving upon Saturday, Nov. 10, 1759,

1759, becauſe it was the birth-day of an aged and good King; and he ſaid in his proclamation, "The miniſters of the goſpel are hereby directed to perform divine ſervice, in their reſpective congregations, in the morning only, the afternoon being devoted to public *rejoicings*, and lawful *diverſions*." But when the day came, inſtead of rejoicings, the Governor had to mourn over the dead corps of his only ſon*. And on October 25, 1760, that aged and good King was taken from the nation. When the news of it arrived, the paſtor of the ſecond Baptiſt church in Boſton preached from thoſe words of Solomon, *Wo to thee, O land, when thy King is a child*; which is a truth that others have had occaſion to remember ſince. And becauſe the great reformation, in and after the year 1740, was begun and mainly carried on among Pedobaptiſts, many had aſſerted that the Baptiſt principles always came in at the tail of a reformation, when the life of religion was gone, and people were for ſettling down upon the bare letter of ſcripture. For a dozen years, this argument was much harped upon, until it was ſilenced in theſe parts by clear evidence to the contrary.

II. The ſecond Baptiſt church in Middleborough ordained their paſtor on January 26, 1758. And our third church in the town was formed and organized in 1761. And though we have three meeting-houſes of our denomination in this town, yet the neareſt are nine miles apart, and the fartheſt above eleven. On April 1, 1761, Mr. William Carpenter, and his church at Norton, were eſtabliſhed in the Baptiſt order, and he enjoyed a conſiderable bleſſing upon his labours both there and in

* Langdon's ſermon on ſaid day, p. 45, 46.

in Attleborough, and ſome revivings were granted in ſeveral other parts of the land. But a much greater work came on in June, 1762, in the third Baptiſt church in Middleborough, and prevailed through the year, and extended its bleſſings into other ſocieties and denominations. The ſubjects of this work diſcovered much more of fruitfulneſs in their underſtandings, and good government of their paſſions, than appeared in the revival twenty years before. And it was very evident, that the labours of Baptiſt miniſters were the chief means of beginning and carrying on this work; which was powerful, undoubtedly, to the ſaving benefit of many ſouls. And though the world ſaid, they ſpent ſo much time in religious exerciſes, that they would all ſtarve, or come to want and miſery; yet the contrary was remarkably demonſtrated, by the diſpenſations of Providence: For in many places almoſt the whole ſtaff of bread was cut off, by a ſevere drought; while a few ſeaſonable ſhowers, in the parts where people were ſo much engaged in religion, cauſed not only a good ſupply for themſelves, but alſo a large quantity to impart to others the next ſpring. This was very convincing to many. Divine influences upon the ſouls of men were more extenſively granted afterwards. Near the cloſe of 1763, ſuch a work began under Mr. Cleaveland's miniſtry in Ipſwich, as cauſed the addition of ninety communicants to his church, in leſs than a year. A like bleſſing was granted in Providence and in Norwich, and a greater one on the eaſt end of Long-Iſland, of which Mr. Buell publiſhed a narrative. The work extended to New-York, New-Jerſey, and elſewhere. The beginning and progreſs of a revival at Woodſtock was alſo very remarkable. As Mr. Noah

Alden paſſed through the town in December, 1763, he preached a ſermon to a few people, one of whom had been a chief leader in mirth and frolicking, among young people there: But God was pleaſed to direct an arrow of conviction to his heart, which ended in converſion in March, 1764. No ſooner did this news come abroad, than four of his former companions went one evening to try if they could not draw him back to his former ways again. He willingly retired with them to an adjacent ſchool-houſe, where they ſpent the evening together. But, inſtead of turning him back to vanity, he prevailed with them to appoint a religious meeting the next week, which led on to others of that kind, until a large harveſt of ſouls was granted there. And who could help rejoicing, to ſee a large number of young people turned from lying vanities, to an earneſt engagement in religion, and the great affairs of the ſoul and eternity! Yet the miniſter and profeſſors with whom they met for worſhip, finding that a cold formality could not give them ſatisfaction, appointed a faſt, and called in the neighbouring miniſters to aſſiſt therein; who fell to exclaiming againſt falſe teachers, Satan's turning himſelf into an angel of light, ſeparations, Anabaptiſm, &c. which plainly taught thoſe young believers, that edification, the great end of Chriſtian ſociety, was not to be enjoyed in that way. And being convinced of the truth of believers baptiſm, a church was conſtituted in that order in February, 1766; and on May 29, 1768, the man who had been their chief leader from vanity to real religion was ordained their paſtor; under whoſe miniſtrations great bleſſings have been granted ſince. And ſuch a door is now opening for the removal of ancient prejudices, as had not been before in many ages.

III.

III. THE covenant of circumciſion gave thoſe who were born in it a right to treat all others, both as to worſhip and commerce, as no others had any right to treat them. A right to office alſo in that church was hereditary. When our Saviour came, he fulfilled the law both moral and ceremonial, and aboliſhed thoſe hereditary diſtinctions among mankind. But in the centuries following, deceitful philoſophy took away the name which God has given to that covenant (Acts vii. 8) and added the name *grace* to it; from whence came the doctrine, that *dominion is founded in grace.* And although this latter name has been exploded by many, yet the root of it has been tenaciouſly held faſt and taught in all colleges and ſuperior places of learning, as far as Chriſtianity has extended, until the preſent time; whereby natural affection, education, temporal intereſt, and ſelf righteouſneſs, the ſtrongeſt prejudices in the world, have all conſpired to bind people in that way, and to bar their minds againſt equal liberty and believers baptiſm. But the writings of our learned miniſters in England have communicated much light in this country; to which more was added by the travels and labours of our ſouthern fathers and brethren. And hereby the Philadelphia Aſſociation* obtained ſuch an acquaintance with our affairs, as to bring them to an apprehenſion that it was practicable and expedient to erect a college in the Colony of Rhode-Iſland, under the chief direction of the Baptiſts; wherein education might be promoted, and ſuperior learning obtained, free of any ſectarian religious teſts. And Mr. James Manning, who took his firſt degree in New-Jerſey college in September, 1762,

* A yearly meeting of the Baptiſt churches in thoſe parts, which began in 1707.

1762, was eſteemed a ſuitable leader in this important work. Therefore on a voyage to Halifax, in July, 1763, he called in at Newport, and propoſed the affair to the Honorable Samuel Ward, John Gardner, Joſias Lyndon, and other Baptiſt gentlemen and friends; who readily concurred therewith, and entered upon the uſe of means to accompliſh it. And notwithſtanding ſecret contrivances and ſome open attempts againſt it, an ample charter for the purpoſe was granted by their Legiſlature, in February, 1764. In the ſummer following Mr. Manning removed to Warren, to preach to a ſociety newly formed there, and to begin the ſchool. In September, 1765, he was choſen Preſident of the college, and on September 7, 1769, ſeven young gentlemen took their firſt degrees therein, and it was removed to Providence the next ſpring, where a further account of it may be given hereafter. Mr. Hezekiah Smith, a claſs-mate with Mr. Manning, having travelled and laboured in the goſpel as far ſouthward as Georgia, returned and came into New-England in the ſpring of 1764, and was received to preach in the pulpits of Pedobaptiſts, in Providence, Rehoboth, Attleborough, Ipſwich, Newbury and other places, with an evident bleſſing upon his labours. He expected to have returned to New-Jerſey in the fall; but a vacant pariſh in Haverhill prevailed with him to alter his purpoſe, ſo as to ſtay and preach with them. Hereupon ſome miniſters, who had freely received him as an itinerant miniſter, turned and exerted all their influence againſt him. Yet many ſeals were granted to his miniſtry, and a Baptiſt church was formed in Haverhill, on May 9, 1765, and he became their paſtor, before which there was but one ſmall Baptiſt church in any part of our country northward of

Boſton.

Boſton. Their increaſe alſo elſewhere made others very uneaſy.

IV. Dr. Benjamin Lord publiſhed a diſcourſe in 1763, wherein he ſays, "Some few, I perceive, begin to hearken to corrupt doctrines, which tend to their renouncing of their infant baptiſm, and their intereſt in the very ancient covenant with Abraham and his ſeed; which you may be aſſured is a dangerous road, and often iſſueth very fatally, —witneſs the Anabaptiſts in Germany, 240 years ago, and others ſince*." Directly upon which, he, with ſix other miniſters, made ſome additions to Dickinſon's dialogue, and got it re-printed at Providence. In a preface to it, they ſay, "It ſeems people do not think in ſeaſon what a ſinful, God-provoking and ſoul-deſtroying evil it is, to break over God's inſtitutions: Firſt be wavering, unſettled, not ſtedfaſt in any right principles, nor in the covenant in which their infant baptiſm declares them to be; and then break covenant, and ſeparate themſelves, as being in their own eſteem holier and better than others. It is hid from them, that evil men and ſeducers wax worſe and worſe: It is hid from them, or rather they will not ſee, that they have fell into the way of Cain, and are in danger of periſhing in the gainſaying of Core." A ſight of which, from the miniſter where the author was born, and from whom he ſeparated, moved him to ſend the Doctor a printed letter in 1764, to open the injuſtice and abuſive nature of ſuch treatment of mankind; to which he returned no anſwer, but has ſince been more friendly to the Baptiſts than before. As Dr. Gill had anſwered ſaid dialogue, a copy of this new edition was ſent to him. An addition

* Diſcourſe on ſober madneſs, p. 16, 17.

dition to it was made in theſe words, viz. ſay they, "St. Irenæus, who lived about 114 years after the death of Chriſt, being the diſciple of St. Polycarp, who was the diſciple of St. John the Evangeliſt, ſays, in his epiſtle, *ad.* Rom. *lib.* 5, *The church received a tradition from the apoſtles, to adminiſter baptiſm to little children, or infants.* By *tradition* (ſay theſe miniſters) the ancients meant the word of God, agreeable to that of the apoſtle, 2 Theſſ. ii. 15, iii. 6*." Upon a ſight of this Dr. Gill publiſhed an advertiſement, in the end of the London edition of his reply to Clark, wherein he charges this paſſage as a *forgery*, and challenges the whole literary world to produce or point out any ſuch paſſage in the writings of Irenæus, if they can; and ſaid, "What a wretched cauſe muſt infant baptiſm be, to require ſuch management as this!" Various methods have been taken to wipe off this reproach, if poſſible. The firſt I heard of was, that thoſe miniſters ſent to Yale college, and there found a Latin tranſlation of Irenæus, which had that paſſage in it. I was afterwards told, by one of their moſt learned miniſters, that the controverſy turned upon men's different opinions about the meaning of a Greek word or two; which therefore could not properly be called a forgery. But in 1781 Mr. Moſes Hemmingway, of Wells, publiſhed a piece upon infant baptiſm, wherein he would perſuade us, that it was only a ſlip of memory in thoſe miniſters to write Irenæus, when Origen was the perſon intended; and therefore that Dr. Gill diſcovered a very bad temper, in making ſuch a noiſe about ſo harmleſs a miſtake. To which I reply, that thoſe miniſters name Origen in their next paragraph,

* Said dialogue, p. 5.

graph, and ſay he lived about 190 years after Chriſt. And how came a miniſter 180 miles from them to know that they meant Origen, in the diſputed paſſage, when it does not appear that they ever knew it themſelves! However, the uſe of the ſecular arm has ever been their worſt argument.

V. When the Legiſlature at Boſton broke in upon their own exempting law, in 1752, the Baptiſts were ſo much alarmed as to call ſeveral meetings, and to elect Mr. John Proctor their agent, to carry their caſe to England; and they ſubſcribed above an Hundred Pounds therefor; and he drew a remonſtrance upon the ſubject, which was preſented to the Aſſembly at Boſton, in May, 1754. It ſtated matters ſo plainly, that a motion was made by ſome to take the ſigners of it into cuſtody; but Governor Shirley, newly returned from Europe, convinced them of the impolicy of ſuch a ſtep; and then they appointed a committee to confer in a friendly way with the Baptiſts; and matters were ſhifted along, until the war came on, and their deſign for England was dropt. At length all their exempting laws for Baptiſts and Quakers expired, and the Aſſembly of November 23, 1757, made a new one, wherein both denominations were again included in one act. By it no Baptiſts were to be exempted from miniſterial taxes, in the places where they lived, "But ſuch whoſe names ſhall be contained in a liſt or liſts, to be taken and exhibited on or before the 20th of July annually, to the aſſeſſors of ſuch town, diſtrict, precinct or pariſh, and ſigned by three principal members of the Anabaptiſt church to which he or they belong, and the miniſter thereof, if any there be, who ſhall therein certify, that the perſons whoſe names are inſerted in the ſaid liſt or liſts are really belonging

belonging thereto; that they verily believe them to be conſcientiouſly of their perſuaſion, and that they frequently and uſually attend public worſhip in ſaid church on the Lord's days:" And the like was required of the Quakers. It was continued in force 13 years; and no tongue nor pen can fully deſcribe all the evils that were practiſed under it. Only becauſe a difficulty aroſe, in 1763, between the third Baptiſt church in Middleborough and their miniſter, ſo as prevent his ſigning a new certificate for them, they were all taxed to the pariſh worſhip. And though, after diſtreſs was made upon ſome, they were adviſed to apply to Plymouth Court for help; yet, inſtead of affording any, they took Twenty Dollars more from them. And this was but a trifle, compared with what was done at Haverhill. For on May 23, 1765, a paper was given to their pariſh aſſeſſors, which ſaid, "This may inform you, that we who have formed ourſelves into a Baptiſt church, according to the laws of this government reſpecting Baptiſts, called by ſome Anabaptiſts, do hereby certify, that we verily believe that Major Edmond Moors, and Mr. John White, merchant, are conſcientiouſly of our perſuaſion, and that they do frequently and uſually attend public worſhip with us on the Lord's days." Signed by the miniſter and three principal members. Yet after this was given, the firſt pariſh in ſaid town met, and voted a large ſum of money to build them a new meeting-houſe; and taxed the Baptiſts with the reſt, to pay both that and the pariſh miniſter's ſalary. And on September 15, 1766, they ſeized a large quantity of Mr. White's goods for that tax. For this he ſued the Aſſeſſors, at their County Court in December; but the action was continued till March, and

then

then was carried up to their Superior Court by way of demur. It was to have been tried at Ipſwich, in June, 1767; but it was then put off, becauſe two Baptiſt gentlemen, a Major and a Captain, were not allowed to be witneſſes of plain facts, concerning the ſeizure of ſaid goods; neither could a few hours be obtained, though requeſted, to fetch other witneſſes from Haverhill. Their adverſaries then moved for an agreement, to have the caſe tried the next term, and that the ſame ſhould be a final trial. This was concurred with, and the agreement was entered by the clerk of the Court. The next term was at Salem, in November, when, after a fair and full hearing, the jury found for the Baptiſts Thirty Pounds damages and coſts. This was immediately complained of as exceſſive high; therefore, rather than not have the matter ſettled, Mr. White conſented to remit Twelve Pounds of it; and the Court gave judgment to have the reſt paid. Yet the lawyers prevailed to have it referred to a future Court, whether they ſhould not have another trial. And finally, in June, 1769, another trial was brought on, and the caſe was turned againſt the Baptiſts; which in all coſt them about Eighty Pounds. The reaſon given for violating an agreement in Court, about a final trial, was that it was a matter of great conſequence. And the plea which finally prevailed was built upon the ambiguous clauſe, belonging thereto, in their certificate law. It might mean a baptized church member, or only a ſteady worſhipper therewith. The Court owned that the latter was the intent of the law; yet, becauſe thoſe words were not in their certificate, though that meaning was full in it, the caſe was turned againſt the Baptiſts. And the reaſon given againſt admitting any of them as witneſs of plain

facts, was becauſe they were parties concerned; that is, becauſe the Congregationaliſts are the majority, they may violate their promiſes to the minority, in matters of great importance; and may conſtrue words as they pleaſe, and refuſe to allow the minority to be ſo much as witneſſes of plain facts, becauſe, forſooth, the majority are not parties concerned!

VI. The noiſe about this caſe reached as far as Philadelphia, and enquiry was made from thence, what it meant? We were told that a noted miniſter, in New-England, wrote for anſwer, that where the Baptiſts could get the power, they were as bad oppreſſors as thoſe they complained ſo much of; which ſtory was framed from the following actions. On September 11, 1765, a Baptiſt miniſter was ordained in South-Brimfield, whoſe preaching was agreeable to ſome Pedobaptiſts near him, who diſliked a miniſter then ordained in the eaſt part of that diſtrict, of their denomination. They therefore got ſome of the Baptiſts to join with them in a petition for a new pariſh there. Upon which the Aſſembly at Boſton, January 15, 1766, incorporated the weſt part of ſaid diſtrict into a new pariſh, inveſted with all the powers and privileges, and ſubjected to all the duties of other pariſhes, without any mention of the Baptiſts in the whole act. Hereupon the majority of this pariſh made a tax for the Baptiſt miniſter, the moſt of whoſe church lived without thoſe bounds; and ſome within never concurred therewith. When the year came round, thoſe Pedobaptiſts moved to have the Baptiſt meeting-houſe voted to be the pariſh meeting-houſe; and becauſe they would not thus give away a valuable houſe, built for a Baptiſt church, and chiefly by men who did not live in

that

that pariſh, the firſt movers in ſaid taxing ſcheme refuſed to pay their own tax. A gentleman from Boſton was then their collector; and, ſeeing the matter muſt be tried, he told me that he reſolved to act impartially; and therefore made diſtreſs upon one Baptiſt, who had ever oppoſed that ſcheme, and upon one of the other party. The caſe was then carried to Springfield Court, where it was ſoon turned againſt the Baptiſt miniſter; and why? he had ſtudied both Greek and Latin, but he had neither an academical degree, nor an approbation from the majority of the miniſters in that county, which was their legal teſt of orthodoxy. He continued the beloved paſtor of that church, until he finiſhed his courſe with joy, Auguſt 5, 1769; after which that church ſent a confeſſion abroad, among their brethren, of their fault in not oppoſing ſaid taxing ſcheme as they ought to have done, a copy whereof is before me. How mean then was the pretence, that the Baptiſts hereby diſcovered as bad an inclination as their opponents did! And as great meanneſs was diſcovered at Haverhill. The want of learned miniſters had often been caſt as a reproach upon the Baptiſt churches; but when ſuch an one was obtained there, all manner of evil reports concerning him could not ſuffice, without many inſtances of perſonal abuſe. A beetle was caſt at him as he was walking the ſtreet one evening, which he took up and carried to his lodgings. Alſo a ſtone, large enough to kill him, was caſt through a window near his head, where he was in bed. And his enemies went ſo far as to cut off his horſe's mane and tail in the night, and to ſet up a paper upon the door where he quartered, threatening worſe treatment to him if he did not depart; and as he went to preach at Solomon Kimbell's,

bell's, in Bradford, Amos Milliken, a Sheriff, came at the head of a mob to prevent it. And as Mr. Smith was going to begin the worſhip of God, the chair he ſtood behind was ſnatched away; and the man of the houſe tried in vain to quell the tumult, and to command peace in his own houſe. At length Mr. Smith, with undaunted reſolution, engaged in his public work, and the rioters withdrew, and gave no further diſturbance to the exercife. And though ſome of them laid wait for him in the evening, yet it was ſo ordered that he did not return home, until the coldneſs of the air forced them to quit their cruel deſign. After Mr. Kimbell's deceaſe, his widow, who alſo was of the Baptiſt ſociety in Haverhill, and had the ſame certified to Bradford aſſeſſors, yet was taxed to their pariſh worſhip. And late in a winter evening ſhe was ſeized for it, and carried ſome miles; and then, calling at an inn, ſhe was prevailed upon to pay the tax; after which ſhe was left to return home, in the dead of the night, through froſt and ſnow, to her three ſmall fatherleſs children. Alſo the widow Mary Corlis, of Haverhill, a member of the Baptiſt church there, had one of her cattle taken away for a miniſterial tax. "Thus, ſays ſhe, I was oppreſſed, in a Province where there is an univerſal cry for LIBERTY! the cry of the widow and fatherleſs they regard not!" So far from it, that further attempts were now made to inflame the reſentment of the ruling party againſt all diſſenters from their woſhip.

VII. A BOOK was publiſhed in 1767, and diſperſed through New-England, wherein it was ſaid of the Baptiſt churches in general, "They little think, as I charitably believe, how far they join with the *gates of hell*, in oppoſing the church of Chriſt,

Chriſt, by laying waſte the nurſery, out of which his vineyard is ſupplied*." As if natural growth could fit children for Chriſtian communion; or, that a requiring fruits meet for repentance, in order for admiſſion thereto, were a deſtroying of them. In the ſame book were many odious reports concerning the ſeparations in and after 1744, ſeveral of which were not true in fact; and having introduced a plea in favour of thoſe people, that they are not ſuch now, the writer ſays, "It is readily granted, that they are now much more moderate and civil than they were in that day, are very peaceable, kind, obliging, good neighbours.—But what does this reaſoning argue? Why it only ſhows that they have loſt a degree of their own *original ſpirit, as Separates*†." And yet he began his preface with ſaying, "The ſpecial occaſion of the following diſcourſes was, the *revival of the ſpirit* and principles of Separation and Anabaptiſm." According therefore to his own teſtimony, they were peaceable, kind, obliging, good neighbours, after that ſpirit was revived. Neither were his party any more conſiſtent with themſelves in a following publication. For upon the Britiſh claims of taxing America, an evident deſign was forming to eſtabliſh Epiſcopacy therein; to guard againſt which, it was ſaid in 1768, "We are, in principle, againſt all civil eſtabliſhments in religion.—It does not appear to us, that God has entruſted the State with a right to make religious eſtabliſhments. If the State in England has this delegated authority, muſt it not be owned, that the State in China, in Turky, in Spain, has this authority alſo?—And as they muſt ſeverally be ſuppoſed to exert this authority in eſtabliſhments conform-

* Fiſh's nine ſermons, p. 95. † Ibid. p. 158.

conformable to their own ſentiments in religion, what can the conſequence be but infinite damage to the cauſe of God and true religion? And ſuch in fact has been the conſequence of theſe eſtabliſhments IN ALL AGES, AND ALL PLACES*." And this publication appeared of ſuch importance, to the annual Aſſociation of miniſters from all parts of Connecticut, in June, 1768, that they publiſhed a letter of thanks to Dr. Chauncy therefor, in a Boſton news-paper. Yet, for theſe forty years, he has wrote the moſt to uphold their religious eſtabliſhments in New-England, of any man upon earth. And a ſtill greater demonſtration of the pernicious effects thereof is before us.

CHAP. XIV.

1. Aſhfield planted. 2. Lawful Rights denied to the Baptiſts therein. 3. To which new Acts were added. 4. And ſlanderous Publications. 5. Likewiſe a ſpiteful Proſecution. 6. Relief from England. 7. Remarks thereon. 8. Oppreſſion at Montague. 9. And at Berwick.

I. A GRANT was made in 1735, to Ebenezer Hunt and others, of a townſhip ſix miles ſquare, weſtward of Deerfield. A plan of it was

* Chauncy againſt Chandler, p. 152, 153.

was to be drawn in ſixty-three equal ſhares; one of which was to be for their firſt miniſter, one for the miniſtry, and one for the ſchool; and certain improvements were to be made upon each of the other ſhares, within three years after the confirmation of the plan. They were alſo to ſettle a learned orthodox miniſter, and to build and finiſh a convenient meeting-houſe for public worſhip. By reaſon of ſucceeding wars, the planting of that place was delayed until 1751. In the mean time a complaint was entered to the church in South-Hadly, that one of their members had propagated a reproachful lie concerning Chileab Smith, a father therein. But the complaint was diſregarded, which moved him to enquire into the conſtitution of the church; and, to his ſurprize, though the words of their covenant implied a profeſſion of ſaving faith, yet he found that ſuch a profeſſion was not held to be neceſſary in order for their communion. He then laboured to convince the church that this was a dangerous error; and, being invited, he went to a meeting of miniſters at Hatfield, Auguſt 6, 1750, and laid before them many ſcriptural reaſons againſt it. But they gave him no ſatisfaction, only referred him to Mr. Edwards, who was diſmiſſed from Northampton two months before, for rejecting that principle. Edwards approved of Smith's reaſons againſt it, but not of a ſeparation therefor. But as Smith judged otherwiſe, he openly withdrew from ſaid church; and in 1751 he removed to Huntstown, with eight children, when there were but two or three families therein. Others came in ſoon after, and lived without public worſhip for ſome time; and then eternal concernments were ſo clearly opened to his mind, that he called the inhabitants together, and prayed with, and expounded the ſcriptures

tures to them, to ſuch good purpoſe that his children and many others were hopefully converted. In November, 1753, his eldeſt ſon was called to preach the goſpel; and, with great hazard and expence, they kept their ſtation, and maintained public worſhip, through a bloody Indian war of ſeven years continuance; near the cloſe whereof they were led into believers baptiſm, and became an organized church on Auguſt 20, 1761; by aſſiſtance from Killingly, Sturbridge, and Stafford; and by the cloſe of that year the church increaſed to twenty-four members, half of whom were males.

II. In 1762, a State tax was impoſed upon that plantation; and as the law exempts all ſettled miniſters therefrom, two of their aſſeſſors allowed their miniſter that privilege. But, for this, the other aſſeſſor entered a complaint againſt them to Springfield Court. The Baptiſts deſired time to prove that their miniſter was regularly ordained; but the Court refuſed it, or to allow of any appeal from their judgment; and extorted a large fine and coſts from them, for not taxing their miniſter contrary to law. When he was ordained, there were but five families, out of nineteen in the place, againſt him; but, the danger of the war being over, others moved in, and in February, 1763, they ordained Mr. Jacob Sherwin over that party; and not only gave him all the privileges of the firſt miniſter of the town, but alſo an Hundred Pounds ſettlement and Sixty-four Pounds a year ſalary, to which they added a large ſum to build them a meeting-houſe, and taxed the Baptiſt miniſter and his people with others to pay it. The plantation being only a proprietyſhip, it was ſaid the exempting law for Baptiſts did not extend there; and when it was incorporated in 1765, by the name of

Aſhfield,

Aſhfield, the word *ſupport* was artfully inſerted, which had no place in their original grant, nor in the incorporating acts of the towns of Charlemont and Laneſborough, paſſed at the ſame ſeſſion. New taxes were hereupon impoſed upon the Baptiſts in Aſhfield, to ſupport a miniſter whom they never choſe; but their oppreſſors at length found themſelves enſnared in the work of their own hands. For proprietors and inhabitants are two diſtinct bodies of men in law, governed by different rules; the votes of the latter being equal, but of the former according to their intereſt; ſo that the vote of a proprietor, who owns five hundred acres, is equal to ten inhabitants who own but fifty acres a piece; and by their act of incorporation, the power of taxation in Aſhfield was put into the hands of the inhabitants and proprietors, both of whom could not do it together, nor either of them apart, according to that act.

III. THIS confuſion afforded ſome reſpite to the Baptiſts; but hearing of further deſigns againſt them, they came to the Aſſembly at Boſton, of May 25, 1768, with a memorial of their ſervices and ſufferings in promoting that plantation, and a prayer for a full exemption from taxes to a worſhip that they did not join with. A committee of three was appointed upon it; two of whom brought in a report to grant the petition: But Edſon, their Chairman, was for giving time to their oppoſites to bring in objections; and to him the Aſſembly hearkened, and on May 31 ordered that the clerks of the inhabitants and proprietors of Aſhfield ſhould be notified of this memorial, that they might bring in objections againſt it, on the ſecond Tueſday of the next ſeſſion of the Aſſembly, and that the further collection of taxes from the petitioners ſhould be

ſuſpended in the mean time. Col. Iſrael Williams was received a repreſentative from Hatfield the next day, who was the moſt reſolute judge in fining the Aſhfield aſſeſſors in 1762; and before the cloſe of this ſeſſion a new act was paſſed which took the power of taxation out of the hands of the inhabitants of Aſhfield, three years after the town was incorporated, and impowered the proprietors to impoſe what taxes they judged proper, for the *ſupport* of their miniſter, as well as other uſes; and to lay the ſame wholly upon the lands, in whoſe hands ſoever they might be, which were to be ſold, if the owners refuſed to pay the tax. This was done under the ſame influence which has ſince involved the nation in blood and confuſion. For in the preceding winter our Aſſembly came into a reſolution to write letters to ſiſter Colonies, to requeſt them to unite in the uſe of prudent means againſt the attempts that were making, to bring America to be taxed where they were not repreſented. On June 30, our Houſe of Repreſentatives were required to *reſcind* that reſolution; which Edſon, Williams, and fifteen more, voted to do: But ninety-two members rejected that arbitrary mandate, one of whom was Captain Benjamin White, a Baptiſt, repreſentative from Middleborough. For this noble ſtand againſt tyranny, that Houſe was diſſolved, and no other called through the year; ſo that the Baptiſts could have no hearing, while power was on the ſide of their oppreſſors, who advertiſed their lands to be ſold on May 3, 1769. But when they met, ſuch defects were pointed out in their proceedings, that the ſale was omitted; and each party came with memorials to the Aſſembly of May 31. Contentions betwixt the Houſe and the Governor ſerved as an excuſe for not hearing the Baptiſts, but

their

their oppreſſors were heard; and on July 5 it was reſolved, "That all the votes and tranſactions of the ſaid town of Aſhfield, in their ſeveral town-meetings, ſince their incorporation to this time, be and are hereby ratified and confirmed; any omiſſions or neglect of making due and proper returns on the ſeveral warrants for calling the ſame meetings, or any of them, notwithſtanding." Williams and Leonard (two of the Mandamus Counſellors in 1774) were of the committee who framed this reſolve, though it was not paſſed into a law. July 15 the Aſſembly was prorogued to January, and in the mean time a new tax was impoſed in Aſhfield, and the Baptiſt lands were advertiſed to be ſold April 4, 1770. In January they ſent to Boſton, but the Aſſembly was prorogued to March 15, when they ſat at Cambridge, but did not receive the Baptiſts petition until the 27th, and it was diſmiſſed April 4, the day their lands were to be ſold. Some friends in Boſton laid the cruelty hereof before ſome of the members ſo plainly, that their petition was reſumed on April 10; but inſtead of then granting any relief, they were only put to more coſts, to notify their oppreſſors to bring in objections. On April 4 the Aſſeſſors of Aſhfield met, and ſold three hundred and ninety-eight acres of the Baptiſts lands to ſupport the worſhip of the oppoſite party. For a demand upon the Baptiſt miniſter of One Pound Two Shillings, they ſold ten acres of his home-lot. His father had one of the beſt orchards in the town, which is of ſpecial ſervice in a new place; yet twenty acres of improved land, containing the main of his orchard, with a burying-yard, and a ſmall dwelling-houſe, were ſtruck off to Elijah Wells, for Thirty-five Shillings; who on May 4 came and forcibly entered

entered upon it, and meaſured it off; and the next day came and pulled up a number of the ſmaller apple-trees, and carried them away, and offered to ſell ſaid houſe. Theſe facts were proved by a number of witneſſes before authority, though, to ſhift off the odium they were expoſed to, by a new ſurvey, they left out the houſe and burying-yard, and then accuſed the Baptiſts of falſhood in the firſt account. But nothing better could be expected, from men who could deal ſo unjuſtly, and could laugh at a mock-ſermon, delivered by Wells upon that occaſion, which breathed as great cruelty as words could expreſs. Repeated applications were made to the Legiſlature for help, but in vain; and the Baptiſt agent was at laſt told plainly, that it was not worth while to wait any longer, for they would keep them under the law by which thoſe lands were ſold, as long as they ſaw fit. Receiving ſuch a plain declaration from a member of the Aſſembly, in the preſence of others, he went and acquainted the Baptiſt miniſters of Boſton therewith, who thought proper to publiſh an advertiſement to all the Baptiſts in this Province, dated July 31, requeſting them to bring in exact accounts of their caſes and ſufferings to their enſuing Aſſociation*, "Where meaſures will be reſolutely adopted, for obtaining redreſs from another quarter than that to which repeated application hath been made unſucceſsfully. Nay, complaints, however juſt and grievous, have been treated with indifference, and ſcarcely, if at all, credited." Accounts were accordingly brought to a meeting of fifteen churches at Bellingham, September 11, who unanimouſly reſolved to apply to the King in Council for relief, if

* A yearly meeting of their churches, began at Warren, September 8, 1767, called *The Warren Aſſociation.*

if it could not be obtained here; and they made choice of agents and a committee for the purpoſe; and wrote to their ſouthern brethren for aſſiſtance in the deſign. This alarmed ſome politicians at Boſton, who urged the Baptiſts to preſent an addreſs to our Legiſlature, and they promiſed to exert their influence in their favour. A memorial was therefore drawn, and was ſigned in behalf of the Baptiſt churches, by their miniſters at Boſton and Haverhill; wherein the late teſtimony of our Aſſembly, againſt the taxing of people where they are not repreſented, was commended, and this liberty was pleaded for in the church, and in particular that the ſaid Aſhfield law might be repealed, and their property be reſtored; that others who had ſuffered in ſuch ways might recover damages, and equal religious liberty be allowed to all. Soon after this was received by the Aſſembly at Cambridge, a piece was publiſhed from thence, dated September 22, 1770, repreſenting that the Baptiſts had complained without any juſt reaſon at all, and that it would be ſerviceable to have an authentic account of the Aſhfield affair publiſhed. And, after many great ſwelling words about the charity and lenity of theſe times, the writer ſaid, "It was aſtoniſhing to moſt people among us, to hear the newspaper complaints exhibited by the Baptiſts; they could not ſo much as gueſs from whence they could ariſe." This was inſerted in three or four Boſton papers. And then, on November 15, the Aſſembly gave orders that Aſhfield proprietors ſhould be notified to bring in objections againſt the firſt prayer of the Baptiſts memorial, to their next ſeſſion. And their old certificate law being out of date, a new one was framed, which changed their title to Antipedobaptiſts, and changed the time of giving in

in certificates to the firſt of September; which were to be ſigned by three or more principal members, and the miniſter, if there be any. The word congregation was to be uſed inſtead of the word church; and the pariſhes were empowered to vote the Baptiſts clear, if they pleaſed, without certificates. But the word conſcientiouſly was ſtill retained, and the certificates were required to be given in annually to pariſh aſſeſſors.

IV. Mr. Davis, clerk of their committee, now called them together; and, upon examination, they declared themſelves not ſatisfied with this law, and they adviſed Davis to anſwer the Cambridge piece. He did ſo, in the Maſſachuſetts Gazette of December 27, by giving a plain and conciſe view of the Aſhfield affair, and aſſerting that it was the sole cauſe of their complaining publicly at this time; and ſigned himſelf, a Baptist. But inſtead of any fair reply, a writer appeared in the Boſton Evening-Poſt, of January 7, 1771, ſaying, "There is a little upſtart gentleman, lately ſettled in town, who calls himſelf a Baptist; and the youth diſcovers a moſt inſufferable arrogance and ſelf-ſufficiency.—I very much ſuſpect, that he is one of thoſe deluded young men, who are employed to defame and blacken the Colonies, and this town and Province in particular.—I am of the ſame perſuaſion in religion with this young hero,—and I cannot ſay what the General Aſſembly could do for the Baptiſts in general, or the Aſhfield brethren in particular, that they have not done.—And I believe this is the opinion of Baptiſts in general, and of all others but enthuſiaſtical bigots." And he had the impudence to annex to this, and much more of the ſame kind, the ſignature of a Catholic Baptist. When Mr. Davis came to ſee it,

he

he ſaid he would never put pen to paper to anſwer ſuch mean and dirty ſtuff. In the gazette of February 7 came out another piece, from a miniſter near Aſhfield, ſuppoſed to be of Deerfield, who ſaid, "It is a very common obſervation among us, that the people called ſeparate Baptiſts in theſe parts will not ſtick at any falſe repreſentations to ſerve their purpoſe;" which he attempted to prove by facts. But Elder Smith, of Aſhfield, came down and anſwered him in the ſame paper, of March 21, when, from public records, he fairly turned that charge back upon the miniſter who advanced it.

THE Aſſembly met at Cambridge ſix days after, to whom was exhibited ſo large a bundle of reaſons againſt their granting the firſt prayer of the Baptiſts memorial, as coſt them Twenty Shillings to get a copy of it from the Secretary, it being twelve pages in folio. And yet there was no attempt in it to prove that the word ſupport was in the original grant of Aſhfield, nor other points that were truly to the purpoſe. Two paſſages in it may give a proper idea of the whole performance. They ſay, "*Natural rights* are in this Province wholly ſuperceded in this caſe by civil obligation, and in matters of taxation, individuals cannnot with the leaſt propriety plead *them*." Exactly the doctrine of the Britiſh Court at this time; but which never could be carried into effect at any time without covering it with religious pretences; therefore, they went on to flatter our rulers in that reſpect, and to ſay of the Baptiſts, "Some have had the effrontery to ſay, that the ſtanding miniſtry is corrupt, miniſters themſelves unconverted, the churches impure and unholy, admitting unconverted and *unſanctified* perſons into their communion." As if it were a very uncharitable and daring

ing

ing thing, for any not to look upon them to be a *ſanctified* people, when they abſolutely refuſed to profeſs themſelves to be ſuch! For our excellent Edwards was rejected by that county with much heat and bitterneſs, only for his inſiſting upon ſuch a profeſſion from communicants. We had direct intelligence that this piece was drawn in Judge Williams's family, and it was ſigned in the name of the proprietors of Aſhfield, by Jonathan Taylor, Timothy Lewis, Samuel Belding, Benjamin Phillips, Philip Phillips. The three latter were the aſſeſſors who ſold ſaid lands, and the laſt of them was the man who got his brother aſſeſſors fined in 1762, for not taxing their miniſter contrary to law. The Council and Houſe joined in a committee upon ſaid memorial; and they ſay in their report, "There is an eſſential difference between perſons being taxed where they are not repreſented, therefore againſt their wills, and being taxed when repreſented, and when what is taxed is *only* in conſequence of what was the very condition of their grant.—What other method can be deviſed, but to ſell the lands of thoſe who *conſcientiouſly ſay that they will not be as good as their word, or keep their covenant*, though it be ſo greatly to the prejudice of the public!—Your committee find, that in the ſale of thoſe lands there was no unfairneſs, but every thing was quite fair, quite neighbourly, and *quite legal*.—It is our opinion that ſaid petition be diſmiſſed.

W. Brattle, *by order*."

V. Accordingly, on April 24, the Council voted to diſmiſs it. And though the Houſe was alarmed, and did not concur with this, but propoſed to have a bill brought in to repeal the Aſhfield law, yet their propoſal was rejected, and the

petition

petition with it. And what a cloud was hereby brought over an oppreſſed people! On the ſide of the oppreſſors was power, but they ſeemed to have no helper. But, behold! in a Boſton paper of October 21, it was declared that the King in Council had diſannulled that law. What a ſurprize did this occaſion! How could ſo deſpicable a people get acceſs to the throne, and obtain ſuch an act, eſpecially in ſo ſhort a time! However it was ſoon ſaid, that there was a man in Hatfield that would hinder the Baptiſts from reaping any advantage thereby. This was a myſtery, till it was explained on November 8, when two officers, with a numerous aid, came to old Mr. Smith's houſe before he was up in the morning, with a warrant from Judge Williams to ſeize his perſon, and to ſearch his houſe and ſhop for bad money. Smith readily promiſed the uſe of his keys, and deſired that no lock might be broken, and alſo that he might have liberty to pray with his family before he was carried off. Liberty for prayer was granted by one officer, but in the mean time the other broke the lock of his ſhop, and damaged his goods there, and afterwards in his houſe; and then he was carried before a Court at Judge Williams's, where he was compelled to ſtand till ten witneſſes were examined; from whom no evidence could be obtained againſt him, "Nor any circumſtance tending to prove the indictment," as ſeven of them gave from under their hands a few days after. Yet Mr. Smith was held a priſoner through the night, in a cold room, and denied either bed or fire, to the great injury of his body, being above 60 years old, and infirm before. In the morning Judge Williams inſinuated ſeveral things againſt him, without ſuffering him to make any anſwer, and bound him over to their next Superior

Court, in large bonds with ſureties. Like warrants were iſſued, it was ſaid, againſt their paſtor, who then happened to be abſent on a journey. Reports were therefore induſtriouſly ſpread in the country, that notwithſtanding all their talk, thoſe Baptiſts were a parcel of money-makers, and their miniſter was gone to ſcatter it, and would never dare to return. But herein they were ſoon found liars, and though the country was ranſacked in the ſpring for witneſſes againſt his father, yet they all failed them. At laſt a man was brought near thirty miles for the purpoſe, who teſtified to the Court at Northampton, that he ſhould not know the man if he met him in the room. So he was diſcharged, and the law was open for him to ſue for damages for this malicious proſecution. But, lo! a bankrupt, ſon to the miniſter of Sunderland, had been brought over the river to enter the complaint againſt him, ſo that he might never obtain any recompence in this world. Yet God often takes the wiſe in their own craftineſs.

VI. When ſuch noiſe was made at Boſton about the Aſhfield affair, Governor Hutchinſon happened to look and find that the word ſupport was not in the original grant of thoſe lands; and perhaps he might hope, that by relieving the Baptiſts, he ſhould draw them to his ſide of the controverſy betwixt America and Britain. Be that as it may, he privately ſent for one of their committee, and adviſed him to ſend the Aſhfield law to a friend in London, who might preſent it to the King in Council; and he promiſed to write to Governor Bernard, who paſſed it, to uſe his influence to have it repealed. This was done, and its repeal was effected, and then their oppreſſors had their turn at waiting upon one Aſſembly after another unſuc-

ceſsfully;

ceſsfully; for though ſeveral acts were framed for them, yet the conſent of the Governor could not be obtained, till they found out what his mind was, and conformed to it. In January, 1773, the Aſſembly appointed a committee, out of their members, to go up to Aſhfield, and to hear both parties, and then to make a tax to pay all that they judged to be behind concerning Mr. Sherwin's ſettlement and meeting-houſe, and the charges which had aroſe about the ſame; and what they judged any of the Baptiſts had paid more than this ſhould be refunded to them, and for the future they ſhould ſtand upon the ſame footing with their brethren elſewhere. The doings of that committee were confirmed by a ſubſequent act in February, 1774, and the ſmall tax which was laid upon ſome of the Baptiſts they paid, and by this time their oppreſſors were ſick of their own miniſter, and he was diſmiſſed from his office, ſo that they loſt the right in the town which they took ſo much pains to wreſt from Elder Smith, beſides the other unſpeakable evils and ſcandals which ſprang from thence.

VII. This account is carefully taken from our printed laws, journals of the Houſe of Repreſentatives, and other writings and teſtimonies; and our opponents are welcome to point out any miſtakes therein, if they can. A gentleman of great influence in our Legiſlature informed me, that it was aſſerted in the Aſſembly, that thoſe petitioners acted with the reſt in ſettling Mr. Sherwin, but now wanted to ſlip out their necks, and leave an intolerable burthen upon their neighbours, which ſtory had great influence to hinder the granting of any relief to the Baptiſts. Whereas, if they had been informed of it, they would have demonſtrated that this ſtory was a glaring

a glaring falſhood, as alſo was the report of the committee whereof Brattle was Chairman; for Wells, who bought Smith's lot, ſued him for cutting the graſs upon it in Auguſt, 1770, and upon trial in the winter, the Court turned the caſe againſt Wells, becauſe the ſale was *not legal*, two months before Brattle reported that it was *quite legal*. And ſaid law being repealed, all thoſe ſales of lands fell of courſe. And who can deſcribe all their guilt in thoſe tranſactions! If it had been right to tax the Baptiſts to Sherwin's ſettlement and meeting-houſe, taxes of ſix times the value of his ſettlement had been laid upon them, before the law was made to ſell their lands for his ſupport; yet, for three years after, their oppreſſors aſſerted with brazen impudence, that thoſe taxes were only to fulfil the original condition of their grant. But according to what our delegates to Congreſs aſſerted in Philadelphia, October 14, 1774, before many witneſſes, the ſettling of Elder Smith in Aſhfield in 1761 fulfilled that condition, and the denying of him the privileges of the firſt miniſter of the town was a violation of the faith of government; for which, as well as for their great trouble and expences, cauſed by ſubſequent acts, they have received no recompence.

BECAUSE Governor Hutchinſon procured relief to that ſociety, ſome have blamed the Baptiſts for not adhering to him and his party in the general conteſt betwixt Britain and America; but they had good reaſons againſt it then, and have greater ſince. For many copies of his letters have been found among us, one of which is dated from Boſton, January 23, 1771, directed to Governor Bernard, wherein Hutchinſon expreſſed his earneſt deſire that Caſtle William might not again be put under the

pay

pay of this Province*, and that the power of chooſing the Council might be taken from our repreſentatives; and ſaid he, "Something, I repeat it, muſt be done this ſeſſion, to ſhew the ſenſe Parliament has of our paſt conduct." And after further urging to inflammatory meaſures, he ſays, "The Baptiſts have made a little ſtir, and complain of being oppreſſed; but in general they have all the liberty which can conſiſt with a legal eſtabliſhment for maintaining public worſhip, without which we ſhould be worſe than we are. No Baptiſt in principle is obliged to pay to miniſters upon the eſtabliſhment. All who attend a Baptiſt miniſter are not exempt; if they ſhould be, the congregations would be broke to pieces in all parts of the Province." He then gave reaſons why the Aſhfield law ought to be repealed, and ſaid to Bernard, "I ſuppoſe you would not have paſſed it, if you had conſidered the force of the word *ſupport*, and that it militated with the general law in favour of Baptiſts. I have no doubt it was artfully ſlipt in by one of the Hampſhire repreſentatives." Equal religious liberty, therefore, was far from his deſign, though he appeared for their help in that caſe. And the artful repreſentative referred to was, for being one of the ſeventeen *reſcinders*, ſet up as Chief Judge of their County Court; in which office he oppreſſed other Baptiſts in the following manner.

VIII. THEY formed a regular church in Montague, July 1, 1765; and gave certificates to pariſh aſſeſſors according to law; yet they were taxed to other worſhip, and diſtreſs was made therefor. Several attempts were made in pariſh meetings to have this diſorder rectified, but in vain, therefore Samuel

* In a clandeſtine way he had given it up to the Britiſh troops, September 10, 1770.

Samuel Harvey ſued Montague aſſeſſors for a cow and calf, that had been taken from him for a tax to their miniſter. After the writ was ſerved, a pariſh meeting was called, who voted to ſtand by their aſſeſſors, and ſaid they meant to try the merits of the cauſe, whether theſe were the Baptiſts whom the law exempted or not. When Judge Williams came to deliver the caſe to the jury, he did not call that point in queſtion, yet he ſaid, "The law ſays the certificate ſhall be ſigned by three principal members of the Baptiſt church, and the plaintiff is one of the ſigners, and he cannot certify for himſelf, therefore there are but two, and the law ſays there ſhall be three." To him the jury hearkened, and turned the caſe againſt the Baptiſts, in Auguſt, 1769. They appealed to the Superior Court the next month; but the action was continued till September, 1770, when the caſe was called, and the witneſſes appeared; but becauſe they were Baptiſts, they were not admitted, and the caſe was again put off, and the Baptiſts were required to pay half the jury's fees. At laſt, on May 1, 1771, a trial was brought on, when Judge Oliver and others turned the caſe againſt the Baptiſts, upon the ſame point as Williams had before done. Upon which it is to be remarked, that before 1752, their laws required but two ſigners to a certificate; and the law they now acted upon allowed of no more than three, where there was not a miniſter, as was the caſe at Montague; and the ſigners could not have been exempted, if their names had not been in the liſt. Yet becauſe they were ſtrained upon, and not others, the caſe was turned againſt them, without trying the merits of the cauſe, as was promiſed; and after the expence of above an Hundred Dollars,

lars, the Baptiſts were left without any hope of remedy from our Courts. And, to worry them out, diſtreſs was again made upon their committee, and not others. A yoke of oxen was taken from Harvey, a cow from Sawyer, and Major Richard Montague was ſeized and carried ſix miles toward the priſon, kept all night, and then releaſed, and the officer went back and took a ſwine that he was fatting for his family. O how dark was this cloud over that little flock! Yet one of them ſaid to his brethren, "Who knows but that God will bring good out of this evil? though we are ſtript of our ſubſtance, yet unborn ages may praiſe him for this." Yea, they themſelves have lived to ſee ſome happy fruits of their ſufferings. One thing which gave a check to oppreſſion, was a determination of authority, that the miniſters of Baptiſt churches were lawful miniſters, ſo as to have a right to marry people, and to be exempted from civil taxes. This was determined by the Superior Court, in one trial at Worceſter, and another in Hampſhire; the laſt of which was this year.

IX. None of their opponents appeared willing to releaſe them, till they had tried the matter, and were taught the folly of oppreſſion by experience. If we turn our eyes from the weſt to the eaſt, we ſhall ſee further evidence of this. By aſſiſtance from Haverhill, a Baptiſt church was regularly conſtituted at Berwick, in the county of York, June 28, 1768. Mr. Joſhua Emery was their teacher, though not ordained. They gave certificates according to law, yet were all taxed to other miniſters; and John Gowen was impriſoned therefor in December, 1769. The like was done to Mr. Emery the next month; and he ſued for recompence in both caſes, but they were delayed till July, 1770, when Emery aſked for a ſummons

ſummons to bring the collector with his warrant. The Judge ordered the clerk to give one, to bring the collector with his original liſt. He came with it, but not the warrant, and the Council for the defendants ſaid there could be no trial without the warrant; and the caſe was turned againſt Emery. He appealed to the Superior Court, where the collector was brought with his warrant; but then he ſwore that he did not take Emery as a priſoner. Emery told the Court, that he did take him and carry him to York, and held him as a priſoner thirty hours, and requeſted him to prove it, either now or at the next term. This was denied him, and judgment was given againſt him. With difficulty he obtained a continuance of his friend's caſe; and the pariſh committee promiſed to let the Baptiſts alone till that caſe was tried. Yet in a few days another tax was impoſed and demanded. Upon this a complaint was entered to authority againſt the former collector for falſe-ſwearing, and he was bound over to Court upon it; but he repeatedly ſaid, he hoped the day of death would come before that day of trial. And behold! he died ſuddenly juſt before the Court! Yet this did not hinder the next collector from coming and ſeizing Mr. Emery's horſe, while he was viſiting a ſick perſon. The pariſh aſſeſſors were ſued therefor in January, 1771, and though they tried a number of crooked ways to delay the matter, and to defeat the deſign, yet both this and his friend's caſe, that was continued, were finally turned againſt the aſſeſſors. John Emery, of York, joined to ſaid ſociety, and got the ſame certified to the aſſeſſors of the pariſh where he lived; yet he was taxed to their worſhip, and when he was from home, a collector came and ſeized his pewter therefor. But experience has ſince taught their

oppreſſors

oppreſſors to ceaſe from ſuch violence. This account is carefully taken from authentic vouchers now in my hands.

CHAP. XV.

1. A Revival of Religion in New-Hampſhire. 2. Baptiſt Churches formed there. 3. Publications of their Opponents promoted their Cauſe. 4. Miſtakes about Catholiciſm. 5. Bolton Controverſy. 6. An Account of Mr. Davis. 7. Reaſons why the Baptiſts refuſed to give any more Certificates. 8. Oppreſſion at Scarborough, and at Warwick. 9. Alſo at Chelmsford.

1. A SMALL Baptiſt church at Newton, in the ſouth borders of New-Hampſhire, formed out of a Separate ſociety there in 1755, was the only church of that denomination in that Province, before 1770. In and after the year 1764 many were hopefully converted in ſeveral parts of it; where believers baptiſm has ſince been introduced in the following manner. About the year 1720 one Scammon, of Stratham, on Piſcataqua river, married Rachel Thurber, from Rehoboth, who was a firm believer of the Baptiſt principles; but

the country round her was ſo full of prejudices againſt them, that in forty years ſhe could gain no more than one perſon to join with her therein; and that was a pious woman in the neighbourhood, who travelled fifty-five miles to Boſton, and was baptized by Elder Bound. But Mrs. Scammon had ſuch a deſire to have others enlightened, that having obtained Norcott's plain diſcourſe upon baptiſm, ſhe carried it to Boſton, with a deſign to get it re-printed upon her own coſt; though when ſhe came to ſpeak to a printer about it, he informed her that he had then one hundred and ten copies of that book on hand: Whereupon ſhe purchaſed them all, and came home and gave them away to her acquaintance, and to any people who would accept of them; by which means they were ſcattered through the country, and among poor people in new plantations. And ſhe would often ſay to her pious neighbours, that ſhe was fully perſuaded, that a church of Chriſtian Baptiſts would be formed in Stratham, though ſhe might not live to ſee it. This came to paſs ſoon after her death, and the like in other places, by the following means. One Samuel Shepard, born at Saliſbury, near Newbury, in 1739, was brought to the knowledge of internal religion when very young; and he learned the art of phyſic, and ſettled in the practice of it in Nottingham, near Piſcataqua river. He had no knowledge of Mrs. Scammon, nor of any other Baptiſts, till he happened to ſee, in a houſe that he viſited, one of Norcott's books; and upon reading it, there appeared ſuch a fair examination of the ſcriptures therein, as ſtruck his mind with conviction that believers baptiſm was the truth. But it being a principle hardly named among his acquaintance, the conviction went off for ſome years. In the mean time, as Mr. Ebenezer Jones,

Jones, a Baptiſt miniſter, travelled through Stratham, he preached a lecture, which was the means of the converſion of a young man named Eliphaleth Smith, who was afterwards called to preach the goſpel; and in January, 1770, was ordained the paſtor of a Congregational church in a part of Nottingham called Deerfield. In May following, as he was preaching to his people upon the obligation that all who love Chriſt are under to keep his commandments, the command to believe and be baptized was opened with peculiar clearneſs to the preacher's mind; upon which he immediately found ſuch a want of any warrant for bringing their infants, as cauſed him to paſs it over in his ſermon, and put him and moſt of his church upon ſuch an examination of that matter, as convinced them that they had not been rightly baptized.

II. Before this, Mr. Shepard, by hearing about Elder Smith of Haverhill, was brought again to think of what he had read in Norcott's book, and to ſearch the ſcriptures concerning baptiſm, and was thereby convinced that the arguments for infant baptiſm were groundleſs, and was made willing to become a Baptiſt. Hereupon he improved opportunities of diſcourſing upon the ſubject with Chriſtians of his acquaintance, which was large; enquiring whether he and they might not have been heretofore miſtaken about the ſubjects and manner of baptiſm? Many were hereby put upon ſearching into the matter, which iſſued in a turn of mind to believers baptiſm. And Mr. Hezekiah Smith was ſent for to Deerfield, where, on June 14, 1770, he baptized their miniſter and thirteen others; and within ſeven days he baptized twenty-four more, who belonged chiefly to Nottingham, Brentwood, and Stratham; and among thoſe thirty-eight

ty-eight perſons were a Congregational miniſter and two deacons, with Mr. Shepard; who by ſpecial teaching was brought freely to begin the great work of preaching the goſpel on July 8, 1770. And he ſoon had ſome evident ſeals of his miniſtry. Mr. Smith, of Deerfield, with the moſt of his church, were united and eſtabliſhed as paſtor and flock in the Baptiſt order. Churches in that order were alſo formed in Stratham, Brentwood, and Nottingham; who all united in calling Mr. Shepard to receive ordination, and for the preſent to take the paſtoral care of them. He was accordingly ordained at Stratham, September 25, 1771; and the ordination ſermon, preached by Mr. Stillman, of Boſton, was printed, together with the charge, by Mr. Smith, of Haverhill, and the right hand of fellowſhip by Preſident Manning, of Providence; and their principles have now had a very extenſive ſpread in thoſe parts. Thus Mrs. Scammon's bread, caſt upon the water, ſeems to have been found after many days; the books that ſhe freely diſperſed being picked up, and made uſeful to many. Neither did the writings of learned miniſters, againſt the Baptiſts, weaken their cauſe, but ſtrengthen it, as what follows will ſhew.

III. Mr. Moſes Mather, of Stamford, in his firſt piece upon the covenant, publiſhed in 1769, owns ingeniouſly, that the covenant of circumciſion, in Gen. xvii. was not, ſtrictly ſpeaking, the covenant of grace, but a divine inſtitution, whereby that nation was taken into viſible covenant with God; and that the ordinances of that church were appointed as means for the regeneration as well as comfort and ſtrengthening of its members. And he labours hard to prove that the covenant is the ſame with the Chriſtian church; and

and that the Lord's ſupper is "A converting ordinance." And to thoſe who hold that perſons ought to profeſs ſaving faith, in order to come to full communion, he ſays, "This ſcheme makes infant baptiſm a mere nullity, or thing of naught. To me this concluſion appears juſt and unavoidable*." Mr. Ebenezer Farris, of Stamford, was rouſed hereby to ſuch an examination of the ſubject, as not only brought him to embrace believers baptiſm, but alſo to publiſh a defence of that doctrine at New-York. And he and others called Elder Gano from thence to baptize them in 1770; and in 1773 a Baptiſt church was conſtituted at Stamford, and another at Greenwich, ten miles nearer to New-York. At the ſame time, the increaſe of the Baptiſts in Boſton (above ſixty members being added to the firſt Baptiſt church there) cauſed a great uneaſineſs among other miniſters, and Dr. Chauncy publiſhed five ſermons in 1772, to perſuade people that it was their indiſpenſible duty to come up to full communion in their churches. And after labouring hard to remove their objections againſt coming, eſpecially becauſe of fears that they were not born again, he ſays, "The divinely appointed way, in which perſons become members of the viſible church of Chriſt, is utterly inconſiſtent with the ſuppoſition, that, in order to their being ſo, they muſt be the ſubjects of *ſaving faith, or judged to be ſo.* The children of thoſe who are members of Chriſt's viſible church are, by the conſtitution of God, from their firſt coming into exiſtence, members of his kingdom in common with their parents. So it was under the Jewiſh diſpenſation; and ſo it is *now*, if there is any validity in one of the principal arguments, by which we vindicate our practice, in baptizing

* Said diſcourſe, p. 17, 54, 57.

tizing the infants of thoſe who are members of Chriſt's church*." The conſequence indeed appears clear, that if there is any validity in their main argument for infant baptiſm, their want of regeneration ought not to keep them back from the other ordinance: But then this is directly againſt the teſtimony for the purity of their churches, which this author produced in 1743, p. 153.

IV. The diſpoſition of that party is further diſcovered by another publication at this time. A Convention of their miniſters at Briſtol, May 20, 1772, agreed to publiſh a diſcourſe, intituled, *Catholiciſm; or, Chriſtian Charity:* And it was printed this year at Providence. Many excellent things are inſerted therein, about charity and a catholic diſpoſition and behaviour, and falſe pretences thereto are well expoſed, eſpecially in the following paſſage. Say they, "Liberty and candour are the great baſis of human happineſs. We often hear perſons extolling the advantages of both, who yet ſeem to be really acquainted with neither. For if they have any deſign on foot, any end to anſwer, or purpoſe to carry into execution, if you entertain different views, and with freedom ſpeak your mind, you are inſtantly deemed an enemy, and you muſt be treated as ſuch; ſo that if you eſcape without the ſword, it is not ſo much owing to a generous ſpirit of liberty, as a want of power. To ſupply the defect of their power, your reputation muſt be blaſted, your influence weakened, and your intereſt injured. Such liberty deſerves no better name than tyranny, and ſuch freedom the baſeſt ſlavery†." The truth of this ſentence is readily allowed; but to whom is it applicable? Thoſe miniſters evidently intended

* His ſermons on breaking of bread, p. 106, 107.
† Catholiciſm, p. 65.

intended it againſt ſuch as refuſed communion with their churches. They name the people who began to ſeparate therefrom about the year 1744, and repreſent them as being furious then againſt *giving* and *receiving* miniſterial ſupport; but as now being ſo *inconſiſtent* and *diſhoneſt* as to come into the ſame practice themſelves†. Had they ſaid aſſeſſing and forcing, inſtead of giving and receiving, they would have diſcovered a regard to truth and conſiſtency that is now wanting in their performance. At this time they cenſure thoſe as very unreaſonable men, who hold immerſion to be eſſential to baptiſm‡. And, ſpeaking of aſking miniſters to preach occaſionally, the writer ſays, "I cannot ſee the propriety nor expediency of inviting the aſſiſtance of any man, be his profeſſion what it may, that denies ME the rights and privileges of the church of Chriſt.—If WE cannot eat and drink of one bread and one cup, in token of mutual fellowſhip, I ſee no reaſon why I ſhould encourage ſuch perſons in their uncharitableneſs." Is not this the charity they had before condemned, which begins and ends *in ſelf*‖?

IN October, 1770, an act of their Legiſlature was obtained, to incorporate a number of men in Providence into a ſociety, by the name of *The Benevolent Congregational Society in the town of Providence*, for the purpoſe of raiſing and managing a fund, to ſupport public worſhip in the firſt church of that denomination there. This was the firſt act of that nature ever paſſed in that Colony; and it was publiſhed in a pamphlet the next year; in the introduction to which they recite their law againſt the uſe of force to ſupport miniſters (ſee p. 48) and ſay upon it, "Although this act was wiſely intended, yet it was followed with great inconvenience in thoſe ſocieties

† Page 37, 38. ‡ Page 64. ‖ Page 25, 66.

cieties where the ſupport of the miniſter was thought to be a duty incumbent on the people, as thereby the burthen of the expence thereof was borne by very few perſons. The Congregational ſociety aforeſaid has had a large ſhare of this difficulty." And could they have had their deſire, they would, undoubtedly, have introduced tax and compulſion for their ſupport. But as the college in that town was formed upon another plan, ſaid miniſters refuſed to encourage it*. And though its charter, granted by their Legiſlature, explicitly exempts the perſons and eſtates of the Preſident and Profeſſors of the college "From all taxes," yet the vote of a town-meeting in Providence was procured in Auguſt, 1772, to limit the meaning of thoſe words to Colony taxes only. And becauſe the Baptiſt aſſeſſors in 1773 left ſaid officers out of their town tax, a town-meeting was called, February 7, 1774, who cenſured thoſe aſſeſſors therefor, and publiſhed their reſolves in the gazette againſt extending that law to town taxes. It is hoped that many who were active in that affair are now convinced of their error, and are ſenſible that they did not then ſhew the regard they ought to have done both to liberty and learning. Their honorable exertions in this cauſe ſince are freely acknowledged; and theſe facts are only mentioned to remove the ill effects of thoſe publications, and to guard againſt ſuch evils for the future.

V. For

* One of the firſt claſs of graduates in that college was ordained at Warren July 3, 1771, who has ſince been a great bleſſing in thoſe parts. Others alſo were very ſucceſsful, ſo that in the years 1771 and 1772, about 230 perſons were baptized, in the adjoining towns of Warren, Swanzey, Rehoboth and Dighton. And Preſident Manning being called to preach and adminiſter ordinances to the Baptiſt church in Providence, cauſed a great turn in their affairs; and ill treatment from others was made to work for their good.

V. For the ſame end I ſhall give a conciſe view of another controverſy at this time. A miniſter at Bolton, in Worceſter county, after being intemperate at other times, drank to exceſs on a ſacramental ſeaſon, ſo as to ſhock the whole congregation. But when his church called him to account therefor, he at firſt denied the crime, and then confeſſed it; yet he violated his promiſe about offering ſatisfaction to the congregation. Three Councils were called, who were all for continuing him in office there. But as he had aſſumed the power to negative the acts of the church, even when dealing with him, and to diſſolve their meeting without their conſent, they called a meeting themſelves, and choſe a moderator and clerk, and made ſome propoſals to their miniſter, and adjourned. But as he gave them no ſatisfaction, they, at their ſecond adjournment, Auguſt 8, 1771, diſmiſſed him from his office, and from their communion; and the town concurred therewith. This alarmed many others, who exerted all their influence to prevent the ſettlement of another miniſter there in thoſe circumſtances. Mr. Zubdiel Adams publiſhed a ſermon againſt it in 1772, which was anſwered by one who ſtiles himſelf A Neighbour; and each wrote again upon the ſubject in 1773. Two editions of Mr. Wiſe's works were alſo now publiſhed; on the other hand a pamphlet came out, ſaid in the title page to be publiſhed *by the Convention of the miniſters of the Province of the Maſſachuſetts-Bay, at their annual meeting in Boſton, May* 26, 1773; the whole labour of which is to prove, that a church has not a right to diſmiſs their miniſter contrary to his conſent, or to the direction of others, where a Council of them can be had. For this end, they inſert a paſſage from Cambridge platform, which

ſays, "In caſe an elder offend incorrigably, the matter ſo requiring, as the church had power to call to office, ſo they have power, according to order (the Council of other churches, where it may be had, directing thereto) to remove him from office." Now it is a known rule in grammar, that though a parentheſis is uſeful in its place, yet that the ſenſe is good without it. So are Councils uſeful in difficult caſes, if they hold up true light; but it is a violation of ſaid rule, to make the direction of a Council eſſential to the churches act in diſmiſſing their miniſter. Another authority produced by this Convention is a paſſage from Mr. Hooker, which declares for the uſe of Councils, and for the right of churches to withdraw their communion from an erroneous church, *that will not be reclaimed.* This will not be denied; but the queſtion in hand was, where the power of doing it lies? Whether in the body of each church, or in a collection of officers above them? To confute the latter, and to eſtabliſh the former of theſe points, was the main deſign of Hooker in that book; of which I have given plain proofs (p. 40) and am ready to advance more if neceſſary. Directly after their pamphlet came out, a Council of ſeven churches, viz. four from Boſton, one from Cambridge, one from Roxbury, and one from Dedham, met at Bolton, Auguſt 3, at the call of ſaid depoſed miniſter and his party. And, in their printed reſult, they have given it as their opinion, that the act of the church in depoſing of him ought be looked upon as a *nullity*, becauſe it had neither his conſent, nor the direction of a Council of others, where it might have been had. They alſo deny its being the act of the majority of all the male members of Bolton church; which laſt aſſertion was ſoon after proved not to be

true

true in fact. In another publication he is introduced, ſaying, "I have three times been tried by my *peers*, and ſo far acquitted, that but little blame hath been caſt upon me." And his advocate ſays of him, "Having never been condemned by the lawful judgment of his *peers*, and being ſtill their miniſter in the eye of the conſtitution, he is juſtly intitled to the *ſupport* they at firſt contracted to give him; neither is it in the *power* of his people to withhold it*." Which is making them *lords* over God's heritage, inſtead of being examples to the flock. Yea, it is claiming ſuch a power in the church, as the Britiſh Court, even at this time, denied in the State. For the Governor and Council of the Maſſachuſetts were, in ſome caſes, a Court of Appeal, finally to decide executive matters; and Governor Hutchinſon claimed a negative power in this, as well as in his legiſlative capacity. But as the queſtion concerning it was referred to the King in Council, it was determined againſt the Governor, that he ſhould not have a negative power in that Executive Court; which determination he was obliged to publiſh in Boſton in January, 1774. And it is moſt certain, that the Chriſtian church is only an executive judicature; yet thoſe miniſters were now contending for a negative power therein.

VI. And though the Baptiſts had no hand in the Bolton controverſy, yet it ſerves more clearly to juſtify their oppoſition to ſuch claims of power at this time. A leader therein was Mr. John Davis, ſon to a Baptiſt miniſter in the Delaware State, and educated at the college in Philadelphia. He came to Boſton in May, 1770, and was ordained paſtor of the ſecond Baptiſt church there the 9th of September following. He was one of the committee who ſigned the

* Adams's reply to the Neighbour, p. 13, 52.

the addreſs of the Baptiſt churches to our Legiſlature the next month; but perceiving ſoon after that our charter gave them no right to ſupport any religious worſhip by tax and compulſion, he plainly declared it to men of note; which was the chief cauſe of the mean and ſcurrilous treatment from the preſs, that he met with the next winter. General Brattle, when acting as Chairman of the committee of the Legiſlature in the ſpring, treated him in like manner; but when he had done, Davis aroſe, and diſtinctly anſwered his arguments, without taking any notice of the perſonal abuſe that was offered him. A gentleman preſent ſaid, the worth of the man never appeared ſo great before. September 10, 1771, the Warren Aſſociation made choice of him as their agent, to uſe his beſt endeavours, by the advice of their committee, in concert with their agents in London, to obtain the eſtabliſhment of equal religious liberty in this land. And the compiler of this hiſtory was then requeſted by a number of miniſters to undertake the work; and Mr. Davis promiſed his aſſiſtance therein. But, alas! he had done but little towards it before his health failed, and his life followed after. In Auguſt, 1772, he took a voyage to Philadelphia, hoping to receive benefit from his native air. And obtaining ſome relief, and meeting with one of his brethren in the miniſtry, who was going to preach to the weſtern Indians, he ſet out with him, in company with friends who were going to ſettle upon the Ohio. But on February 1, 1773, the following account was publiſhed in Philadelphia, viz. "By advices from the Ohio we learn, that upon the 13th of December the Reverend John Davis, A. M. Fellow of Rhode-Iſland college, and one of the members of the American Philoſophical Society, died

died there, after an illneſs of three weeks, in the 36th year of his age." The miniſter he was with informs us, that ſome of his laſt words were theſe: "In a little time I expect to be with Chriſt, to ſee and know him as he is now known, and as he is not known. My faith in my Saviour is unſhaken*."

VII. In September, 1772, the author was choſen an agent of the Baptiſt churches in Mr. Davis's room; and the following events took place among them. Though their church in Chelmsford had given in certificates according to law, yet they were all taxed to pariſh teachers; and in a cold ſeaſon, January 26, 1773, three of their ſociety were impriſoned therefor at Concord, one of whom was 82 years old; and they commenced a ſuit in law for recompence; but their caſes were long delayed. In Bellingham equal liberty was enjoyed, becauſe there was none but a Baptiſt miniſter in the town; but a number of his hearers who lived in Mendon were ſo much oppreſſed with taxes to other miniſters, that in the three preceding years they eſtimated their damages on that account at near Fifty Pounds. And theſe and other things being laid before the Baptiſt committee, May 5, they adviſed their agent to write to all their churches, to conſider whether it was not their duty to refuſe to give any more certificates to the power that oppreſſed them; and to bring in their concluſions upon it to their next Aſſociation. And further light was held up by their enemies a few days after. For, to vindicate their practice, they publiſhed an account of all their exempting laws in the Boſton Evening Poſt, of May 17, and as the firſt of them ordered Epiſcopalians in each pariſh to be taxed with the reſt, and then that their miniſters ſhould draw the money out of

* Jones's journal, p. 24.

of the pariſh treaſury, it was now ſaid, "Had the ſame prudent precaution been taken with reſpect to the Anabaptiſts, when they were exempted from being taxed towards the maintenance of the miniſters of the churches by law eſtabliſhed, thoſe avaricious and diſſolute perſons, who get under water to waſh away their miniſter's rates, without any expectation or deſire of waſhing away their ſins, would have had little or no temptation to declare themſelves Anabaptiſts." When the Warren Aſſociation met at Medfield, September 7, 1773, they concluded to refrain from giving any more certificates to that power, for theſe reaſons. 1. Becauſe it implies an acknowledgment, that civil rulers have a right to ſet up one religious ſect above another, which they have not. 2. Becauſe they are not repreſentatives in religious matters, and therefore have no right to impoſe religious taxes. 3. Becauſe ſuch a practice emboldens the actors therein to aſſume God's prerogative, and to judge the hearts of thoſe who put not into their mouths. 4. Becauſe the church is preſented as a chaſte virgin to Chriſt; and to place her truſt and love upon any others for temporal ſupport, is *playing the harlot*, and ſo the way to deſtroy all religion. (Hoſ. ii. 5.) 5. Becauſe the practice aboveſaid tends to envy, hypocriſy and confuſion, and ſo to the ruin of civil ſociety*. When the author came to Boſton to compleat this publication, he met with two printed letters againſt the deſign; to which he returned the following reply, on October 14. "Mr. Draper, as you have allowed a pretended Baptiſt room for two long letters in your paper of the 2d and 30th of September, I hope you will give a real Baptiſt room for a ſhort anſwer to him in your next. I call him a pretended

* Appeal to the public, p. 43—47.

tended Baptiſt, and think I have reaſon ſo to do; for though he gives his word for it that he is of our denomination, yet the whole tenor of his letters is, to perſuade us to be eaſy under the taxing laws of the other party; and towards the cloſe of his firſt letter he ſays, *had we for a little while borne only the little finger of the Epiſcopalian hierarchy, we ſhould think the burthen comparatively light, though we were called to bear the weight of the loins of the Preſbyterians of New-England.* And is not the hand of Joab in all this! For my part, I am not able to get a pair of ſcales ſufficient to weigh thoſe two great bodies in, the Epiſcopal hierarchy and the New-England Preſbyterains, ſo as to find out exactly which is heavieſt: But if this pretended brother had felt what father Obadiah Holmes once felt in Boſton from our opponents, he would not have been ſo eaſy as he now ſeems to be." Hereby a ſtop was put to that mean and ſcandalous practice, of aſſuming the Baptiſt name, in writings againſt their welfare. Neither did any anſwer ever appear to the above reaſons for equal liberty, though oppreſſion was ſtill carried on under religious pretences.

VIII. By aſſiſtance from Haverhill, a Baptiſt church was regularly formed at Goreham, near Caſco-Bay, June 20, 1768. And Joſeph Moody, a member of it, who lived in Scarborough, had the ſame certified annually to their pariſh aſſeſſors according to law; yet diſtreſs was ſtill made upon him for taxes to pariſh worſhip. For ſuch a tax of about Six Dollars, a good riding beaſt was taken from him in 1771; he therefore preſented proper vouchers of theſe facts to the Aſſembly at Boſton, January 26, 1774, with a petition, that like the good Samaritan they would again ſet him upon his own beaſt. A committee was ſent out upon it, whoſe report was to diſmiſs

diſmiſs the petition, which was done. About this time eighteen men, of the Baptiſt ſociety in Warwick, in a very cold ſeaſon, were ſeized for a pariſh tax, and carried forty miles, and caſt into Northampton gaol. On February 15, an account thereof was brought to the agent of the Baptiſt churches, who directly laid their caſe before the Legiſlature at Boſton; praying that they might be releaſed, that recompence might be made them, and effectual meaſures taken to prevent ſuch things for the future. But, though a committee was ſent out upon it, no help was granted. This moved one of the Baptiſt committee to expreſs his aſtoniſhment thereat, in the gazette of March 3, and to aſk how this news would be received in ſiſter Colonies, or at the Britiſh Court, from whence late help had been afforded to our Aſhfield brethren? A reply hereto came out March 14, which ſaid, "No one can deny that they have been in great trouble of late; and whoever conſiders how dangerous the occupation of counterfeiting an eſtabliſhed currency is, they cannot greatly admire at it." Which inuendo was catched at, and enlarged upon in the Providence gazette. Though in fact a Pedobaptiſt church member in Aſhfield had, before this, been convicted of harbouring a counterfeiting club at his houſe, for which the Court gave judgment that he ſhould be fined, ſet in the pillory, and have his ears cropt; while a Baptiſt member, whom they had enſnared, was only fined. Thus do men expoſe themſelves, when they drag into religious controverſy things which have no relation to it. In a Boſton paper of April 7, the aſſeſſors of Warwick publiſhed a vindication of themſelves in taxing thoſe Baptiſts, in which they ſaid, "We apprehend that every body politic have a right to chooſe their religion, and to enact laws for its ſupport, and that they

they ought ſo to do: And ſince Congregationaliſm is the choice of the people of this Province, the religion which our forefathers had in view to eſtabliſh in coming over to this country, we think there is good reaſon why diſſenters from us ſhould pay to the ſupport of it; eſpecially ſince it is one condition upon which they receive and hold their lands." This laſt article is flatly denied, and let any of that party prove it if they can. And will any ſtill plead for a practice that cannot be upheld without lying! Another evil effect of it is before us.

IX. ONE of the Chelmsford caſes was now tried at Charleſtown. Jonathan Sewal, the lawyer who was moſt active againſt the Baptiſts of Haverhill, undertook for them; and he muſt needs put the collector as well as the aſſeſſors into the writ. The effect of which was, that the jury judged the aſſeſſors to be guilty, and the collector not guilty; and that the Baptiſt ſhould recover of the aſſeſſors Three Pounds damages and coſts, while the collector ſhould recover coſts of the Baptiſt for carrying him to priſon, where he was confined above three days. The guilty aſſeſſors ſoon had their expences paid by the town; but as the Judges and ſaid lawyer went off directly, the other Chelmsford caſes were never tried, nor the ſmall ſum now adjudged to one of them received. And no exempting law for the Baptiſts in this Province was now in force. Theſe things being heard of at Philadelphia, cauſed an uneaſineſs among the Preſbyterians there, and a man was ſent from thence to Boſton, and a new exempting act was paſſed at Salem in June; after which it was declared in a Philadelphia paper, that relief was granted to the Baptiſts in the Maſſachuſetts. Such pains have that ſect taken to keep up their credit and influence in this country. But that

act was ſo far from affording us any relief, that it required annual certificates to be recorded in each pariſh where the Baptiſts lived, a copy of which could not be had without *Fourpence* of our money, which is *Threepence* ſterling; the very tax upon a pound of tea that brought on the American war.

CHAP. XVI.

1. A Review of Engliſh Affairs. 2. Of New-England in particular. 3. Cauſe of the American War. 4. How it began. 5. Cauſe of ſo general a Union therein. 6. Its Progreſs. 7. The Vanity and Folly of our Enemies. 8. Divine Goodneſs to our Land, diſplayed in the Abilities, Temper and Succeſs, of General WASHINGTON.

I. DISPUTES about power and gain, under a religious maſk, could no longer be reſtrained to words, but muſt come to dreadful blows. To this thoſe claims have always tended. When Henry the 8th revolted from the church of Rome, and ſet himſelf up as head of the church of England, he ruled as tyrannically as the Pope did; though his allowing the common people to have the bible in their own tongue, gave much light to the nation. And a greater reformation was produced

duced thereby, in the ſhort reign of his ſon Edward, than the church of England has ever attained to ſince. Neither do their ideas differ ſo much from ours about facts, as about the names they ought to be called by. An Epiſcopal miniſter of conſiderable note, after thirty years labour to promote their way in New-England, gave the following account of the cauſe of its firſt plantation. Says he, "While the virgin Queen, of immortal memory, ſat at the helm, ſhe ſteered ſo ſteady a courſe, and rode with ſo tight a rein, that Calvin's Engliſh diſciples, impregnated with the leaven of Geneva, could do little more, upon their return, after the Maria perſecution, than fret in their fetters, murmur, and mutter their diſcontents in ſecret.——To Elizabeth ſucceeded James, father of the martyr. He imagining it more for his eaſe, threw away the Queen's curb, and rode with a ſnaffle. Under this ſoft Sovereign the non cons ſeem, by the Galliotiſm of the ſtate, and Grindalizing of the church, to have grown into great numbers. But Charles reſumed, in ſome ſort, the heroine's bridle, and gave leave to Laud to make uſe of whip and ſpur; ſo the ſturdy Puritan, unuſed to reſtraint, and growing reſtive, finding that flouncing and plunging would not throw down, ran away from his riders, and took ſanctuary in New-England. But good God! how dearly did that moſt pious Prince and holy prelate pay for this! and how fatal and laſting have been the conſequences of that GRAND REBELLION, that brought both of thoſe great perſonages to the block*!" That is, Charles claimed a right to impoſe laws and taxes upon the people without their conſent, and Laud

* Letters from Narraganſet, 1752, by James M'Sparran, D. D. printed at Dublin, 1753, under the title of *America diſſected*, p. 23, 24.

Laud endeavoured to cover and enforce the ſame with religious pretences; and becauſe they drove on furiouſly in that way, until both of their necks were broke, arbitrary teachers have canonized them for ſaints and martyrs; and have ſtigmatized reſiſtance to ſuch power with the odious name of REBELLION. After the flames of war which they kindled had raged through three bloody campaigns, between the King and Parliament, their commiſſioners met at Uxbridge, January 30, 1645, to treat about reconciliation: But it could not be obtained, becauſe a ſecret inſtruction from Charles to his commiſſioners ſaid, "As the King's duty is to protect the church, ſo it is the church's to aſſiſt the King in the maintenance of his juſt authority: Wherefore my predeceſſors have been always careful (eſpecially ſince the reformation) to keep the dependency of the clergy entirely upon the crown, without which it will ſcarcely ſit faſt upon the King's head; therefore you muſt do nothing to change or leſſen this neceſſary dependency*." Before the reformation the Pope rode foremoſt, and ſometimes compelled Princes to walk on foot, yea, to hold his ſtirrup; but ſince, as is here obſerved, they have been always careful to keep the reins in their own hands. And this conteſt has cauſed infinite miſchiefs in New-England.

II. THE firſt planters of it requeſted no more than equal liberty of conſcience; and though the crown would only give a conditional, and not an abſolute promiſe thereof, "Yet, caſting themſelves on the care of Providence, they reſolved to venture†." On this foundation was New-England planted in 1620; and this has been its only ſupport

* Rapin, vol. 2, p. 510.
† Prince's chronology, p. 57, 60.

part ever ſince. For though the Maſſachuſetts company came over ten years after, with an ample charter from Charles; yet he and Laud ſoon attempted to vacate it, and at length poſitively required the company to ſend it back again*: And the loſs of their heads, and the overthrow of Epiſcopacy, was the cauſe why theſe plantations were not then entirely ruined. In the mean time, an imagination of great purity at Boſton emboldened the church to aſſume the whole government in this wilderneſs, with an expectation of exhibiting to the world ſuch a view of the glory of Chriſtianity, as had never before been ſeen. And the leaders here were enchanted with this bright image, until their charter was wreſted from them in 1684; upon which the world reſolutely took the bridle again into their own hands. And how flattering was their late proſpect, of riding where they pleaſed without controul? Methinks I hear the Britiſh miniſtry ſaying, our fleets and armies have triumphed over all our enemies, and we are revered to the remoteſt regions. The wealth of both the Indies is ours, and our reſources are boundleſs. The vaſt continent of North-America is wholly at our command, and who can hinder our doing as we pleaſe? Arts and ſciences are already carried very high, and who knows how much greater improvements may be made? As to religion, fanaticiſm and bigotry are quite out of faſhion, and reaſon and liberty are the darling topics of the age. Epiſcopacy prevails in almoſt all our Colonies, and ſoon will in the remainder. Parliaments have formerly made dreadful work; cut off the head of one King, and drove another from his throne; but thoſe days of ſuperſtition and cruelty are at an end. The Parliament

is

* Hutchinſon, vol. 3, p. 105.

is now entirely at our command; and the eſtabliſhment of its ſupremacy over the Colonies is all that is wanting to compleat the happineſs of the empire; and who can prevent ſo great a good? Can a few factious fellows at Boſton do it! The thought is contemptible! And we are aſſured, by the moſt reſpectable gentlemen upon the continent, that as ſoon as it is ſeen that government is determined to maintain its authority, oppoſition will ceaſe, and the land will be at reſt. At their head is a man, who, by the beſt hiſtory of his country that was ever publiſhed, has diſcovered a perfect knowledge of their affairs, civil and religious. And his influence is ſo great, that after he was made Lieutenant-Governor of the Province, he was freely elected into their Council. At the ſame time he had the command of their caſtle, the key of their chief harbour, was Judge of Probate in their head county, and Chief Judge of their Supreme Executive Court through the Colony; until his Majeſty has been pleaſed to raiſe him to the higheſt ſeat in their government. Who then can ſcruple the truth of his teſtimony, or the ſufficiency of his influence to accompliſh our deſires?

III. I AM ſenſible that theſe ideas will not pleaſe ſome men; therefore the following facts are adduced to ſupport them. The moſt plauſible plea for the claim of Britain to tax America was, that we were indebted to her for protection. If ſo, why did ſhe pay us large ſums, for aſſiſting her in her wars? Our conqueſt of Cape-Breton, in 1745, brought her into debt to us, for which ſhe ſent us over a good quantity of caſh, whereby we were enabled to call in our paper money. Yet, through jealouſy of our power, acts of Parliament were paſſed in 1749 to prohibit, under great penalties, the erection of any

tilt-hammers

tilt-hammers here to plate iron, furnaces to make ſteel, or ſlitting-mills to cut nail-rods; although no country abounds more than ours with iron. All this and much more was patiently borne, and requiſitions from the crown, of aſſiſtance in the ſucceeding wars, were obeyed beyond our proportion; for which large ſums were repaid by Parliament. Did this look as if they thought we were in debt to them? By no means. But ſoon after the peace of 1763, they paſſed an act to compel the Colonies to furniſh certain articles for a ſtanding army therein in the time of peace; the great engine of deſpotiſm. And as this act was but partly obeyed in New-York, their legiſlative power was ſuſpended, until they ſhould do it fully. To this the ſtamp-act was added, to deprive America of any legal deeds of our lands, or ſecurities for our money, without paying a tax therefor to Britain. And when they were forced to repeal that act in March, 1766, it was reſolved, "That his Majeſty in Parliament, of right, had power to bind the people of the Colonies by ſtatutes IN ALL CASES WHATSOEVER." William Warburton, Biſhop of Glouceſter, had delivered a ſermon, the preceding month, before the ſociety who ſupported their miſſionaries in America, wherein he called the inhabitants of it factious people, ready to laugh at the bible; and ſaid, "The ſpreading of GENTILISM in the Colonies calls for our rejected charity." And to render them as odious as poſſible, he accuſed them of annually ſtealing ſlaves from the oppoſite continent, and ſacrificing them to *their* great idol, the *god of gain*. "Nothing (ſays he) is more certain, than that the infamous traffic for ſlaves directly infringes both divine and human law. Nature created man free,

and

and grace invites him to aſſert his freedom*." Yet it is moſt certain that his party, in the ſouthern Colonies, and in the Weſt-India iſlands, have had the chief hand in that infamous traffic. February 20, 1767, John Ewer, Biſhop of Landaff, before the ſame ſociety, ſaid of the firſt planters of New-England, "What reproach could be caſt heavier than they deſerve? who, with their native ſoil, abandoned their native manners and religion; and ere long were found in many parts living without remembrance or knowledge of God, without any divine worſhip, in diſſolute wickedneſs, and the moſt brutal profligacy of manners. Inſtead of converting barbarous infidels, as they undertook to do, they became themſelves infidels and barbarians. And is it not ſome aggravation of their ſhame, that this their neglect of religion was contrary to the pretences and *conditions* under which they obtained *royal grants* and public authority?" And having expreſſed his earneſt deſire and hopes of the ſpeedy eſtabliſhment of biſhops in America, he ſays, "This point obtained, the American church will ſoon go out of its infant ſtate; be able to ſtand upon its own legs, and without foreign help *ſupport* and ſpread itſelf. Then the buſineſs of this ſociety will have been brought to the happy iſſue *intended*†." (See p. 27, 28.) Dr. Thomas Bradbury Chandler, of New-Jerſey, now publiſhed a book upon the ſame ſubject; wherein he owns it as the opinion of many, that the circumſtances of the nation now afforded the moſt favourable proſpect of the ſpeedy eſtabliſhment of biſhops here, that had ever appeared ſince Queen Ann's death. Yet he had the face to declare

* Glouceſter's ſermon, February 21, 1766, p. 11, 13, 25, 26.
† Landaff's ſermon, p. 6, 7, 25, 26.

declare that ſuch a plan was agreed upon, "That biſhops ſhall not interfere with the property or privileges, whether civil or religious, of churchmen or diſſenters—but ſhall only ordain and govern the clergy, and adminiſter confirmation to thoſe who ſhall deſire it*." The tea and glaſs-act was paſſed this year; which moved the Pennſylvania Farmer to write his elegant letters upon our public danger; the firſt of which was dated November 5, 1767. As thoſe letters were greatly eſteemed, and had very extenſive effects, ten letters by way of anſwer to them were publiſhed at Boſton, in 1769. Much pains were taken therein to perſuade us that the Farmer had given falſe alarms, and that our liberties were in no real danger; and yet in the ninth letter it was ſaid, "The queſtion whether the Parliament can lay *internal* taxes could be determined beſt by conſidering the power of that body to alter or vacate charters. The Parliament can annul our charters *at will*†, without alledging *pro cauſa miſuſer or abuſer*, becauſe the King is joined by the whole Council of the nation." And in January, 1773, Governor Hutchinſon purpoſely drew our Aſſembly into a debate upon this ſubject; and when he cloſed it the 6th of March he ſaid, "It is eſſential to the being of government, that power ſhould always exiſt which no other power within ſuch government can have right to withſtand or controul; therefore, when the word *power* relates to the ſupreme authority of government, it

* Chandler's appeal to the public, p. 50—54, 79.

† Here is a power claimed by man, which, with reverence be it ſpoken, is what the eternal JEHOVAH never aſſumed! His infinite perfections render it impoſſible for him to lie, to act inconſiſtently, or to entice any into ſin; all which have been frequently done, by men who have aſſumed the power to ſupport religious teachers by tax and compulſion.

muſt be underſtood ABSOLUTE and UNLIMITED." And he refuſed his conſent to an act paſſed in that ſeſſion, to grant the ſalaries of the Judges of our Superior Executive Court, becauſe he expected that the King would pay them out of the American revenue then collecting. In June following his letter to a member of Parliament, of January 20, 1769, was publiſhed by the Aſſembly at Boſton, wherein he ſaid, "I never think of the meaſures neceſſary for the peace and good order of the Colonies without pain. There muſt be an *abridgment* of what are called Engliſh liberties." This, and other original letters, were procured and ſent back by the amiable and judicious Franklin, our agent at the Britiſh Court; who, as ſoon as this was known there, was ſpurned from thence with much ſcorn and bitterneſs; an infallible evidence that what they were in purſuit of were *the works of darkneſs*; for *he that doth truth cometh to the light, that his deeds may be made manifeſt.* John iii. 20, 21.

IV. IN November following arrived large cargoes of tea, which were ſent over to eſtabliſh a precedent of the power of the Britiſh Parliament to tax this country internally. From Philadelphia and New-York it was ſent back, and not ſuffered to be landed; and the ſame was earneſtly tried for at Boſton: But Governor Hutchinſon reduced his native town to the cruel neceſſity of either ſuffering it to be landed, and the tax thereon paid, or elſe of caſting it into the ſea; and the latter was choſen. Now the character of thoſe who teach God's fear by the precepts of men, is to *watch for iniquity:* And when accounts of this and other tranſactions arrived in March, 1774, the Britiſh miniſtry imagined that they had got enough of it to cover and carry their arbitrary deſigns. And

ſuch

ſuch uſe was made thereof, as to procure one act of Parliament to ſhut up the port of Boſton, until their power was obeyed there; a ſecond to rob the people of this Province of their right to chooſe their own Council; a third to ſcreen the executors of their orders from puniſhment, even if they committed murder in doing it; and a fourth greatly to enlarge the Province of Quebec, to eſtabliſh Popery therein, and to deprive its inhabitants of their right of trials by jury, and other Engliſh liberties. As theſe were hoſtile meaſures, Thomas Gage, the chief commander of all the Britiſh forces in America, was appointed Governor of the Maſſachuſetts, in order to carry them into effect. And he arrived at Boſton May 13, where he met the Aſſembly the 25th, but ſoon prorogued them to Salem, where a few acts were paſſed, and then they were diſſolved, never to meet again upon their former conſtitution. The port of Boſton was ſhut up in June, and in Auguſt twenty-four of the thirty-ſix Counſellors, appointed for us by the crown, were ſworn into office; and writs were iſſued for a new choice of repreſentatives, to meet them at Salem the 5th of October. But a week before that time the Governor, by proclamation, forbid their meeting; becauſe the people had compelled ſome of thoſe Counſellors to reſign their commiſſions, and the reſt were afraid to venture out of Boſton. Yet moſt of the repreſentatives met, reſolved themſelves into a Provincial Congreſs, and ſat at ſeveral times and places, until they diſſolved on December 10; having taken various ſteps towards the internal regulation and defence of the country, and propoſed a new choice of delegates from the towns, to meet in February. In the mean time all theſe Colonies conſidered the caſe of Boſton as their own,

and

and ſent large contributions to its ſuffering inhabitants. Delegates from twelve Colonies met at Philadelphia, September 5, and ſat till October 26, ſtated the unalienable rights of mankind, and the nature, limits and end of civil government, in a clear manner; and ſent addreſſes to the throne, and to various parts of the empire, well calculated to expoſe, and, if poſſible, to remove the dangers that hung over our liberties. They alſo recommended wiſe meaſures for our internal regulation; and, in the name of their conſtituents, ſolemnly covenanted to refrain from importing any Britiſh goods, or exporting any of ours to them, after certain times ſet; if ſaid oppreſſive acts ſhould not then be repealed, until their repeal was effected.

In the night preceding September 1, a party of ſoldiers went and ſeized a large quantity of powder, in a public ſtore in Cambridge, which, with ſome field pieces, they brought off to Boſton; upon which a report flew like the wind, that Gage had ſent out his troops, who were killing the people. Multitudes were alarmed hereby, and were marching in arms to relieve their friends, until this report was contradicted. And on Lord's day, February 26, 1775, a field officer, with about an hundred men, ſailed from the caſtle to Marblehead, and then marched nimbly to Salem, to fetch ſome pieces of artillery from thence; but were defeated in their deſign by the vigilance of the people. After which Colonel Gilbert collected a quantity of arms and ammunition at Freetown, and ſent to the Governor for protection; who thereupon wrote to the authority of Briſtol county, to make proviſion for two hundred ſoldiers there: But, before they marched, ſome thouſands of the inhabitants aſſembled on April 10, ſeiz-

ed

ed thoſe war ſtores, and diſperſed that neſt of enemies at Freetown. Yet after all this, and much more of like nature, we are informed, that the Mandamus Counſellors at Boſton were under ſuch an infatuation, as to give it as their opinion, that their countrymen would not venture to fight againſt the King's troops; and to adviſe their Governor to try the experiment, by ſending a body of them to deſtroy or bring away the ſtores that were collected at Concord. But though this advice was followed with great ſecreſy, by croſſing the water from Boſton common in the dead of the night, ſo as to get twelve miles in their way before ſunriſe, yet they then ſaw a company of the militia collected to oppoſe them; of whom they killed eight men on the ſpot, and then marched ſix miles further to Concord; where they ſhot down two men more, before our people fired upon them*. And they not only uſed their endeavours to deſtroy ſome cannon and carriages, but alſo caſt a conſiderable quantity of flour into the river. Hereupon the cowardly Americans drove the heroic Britons back to their ſhips the ſame day, with much terror and ſlaughter, although near two thouſand of their beſt troops were employed in the affair; which will tranſmit the remembrance of Lexington, and the 19th of April, down to the lateſt poſterity.

V. But how the inhabitants of a country of fifteen hundred miles extent, divided into thirteen Colonies, very differently conſtituted, wherein were perſons of almoſt all nations, ſects and opinions, could unite againſt the arbitrary claims of the moſt powerful kingdom upon earth, and could perſevere therein for eight tedious years, in defiance

* This is a moſt certain fact, though it was contradicted by our enemies in London.

fiance of the utmoſt exertions both of craft and violence, until thoſe claims are fully given up, is matter of univerſal aſtoniſhment, and will be the ſubject of curious enquiry to future ages. To me it is paſt all doubt, that no other ſufficient reaſon can be given for this unparalleled event, than the deſign which God has declared to us, in the paſſage that adorns our title page. Pride and diſobedience to him had arrived to ſuch height in both countries, that we muſt become dreadful ſcourges to each other, to diſcover what was in our hearts, whether we would keep his commandments or not.

VI. A SECOND Provincial Congreſs met at Concord, February 1, and proceeded to further meaſures for the defence of our liberties; and other Colonies did the like. The Aſſembly at Providence, in December, had ordered the cannon to be brought up there from their fort near Newport, which were now conveyed to the camp before Boſton, formed by the militia, who aſſembled by thouſands, and filled the towns and villages, from the bay ſouth of Boſton to Myſtic river on the north; being a circle of twenty miles. On the other hand, the Britiſh Generals, Howe, Burgoyne and Clinton, arrived with large reinforcements to their army at Boſton. Charleſtown, to the north of it, lies, as that does, upon a peninſula, the latter betwixt Charles and Myſtic rivers. It contained above four hundred houſes, many of them very elegant. June 17 the Britiſh commanders perceived that the Americans had begun to fortify a hill on the north ſide of Charleſtown; upon which the town was ſurrounded with their ſhips and floating batteries, and then their army landed to attack our entrenchment. Burgoyne

was

was upon a hill in the northeaſt part of Boſton; and eight days after he wrote the following account of the action to England. Says he, "If we look to the height, Howe's corps aſcending the hill in the face of entrenchments, and in a very diſadvantageous ground, was much engaged; to the left the enemy pouring freſh troops, by thouſands, over the land, and in the arm of the ſea our ſhips and floating batteries cannonading them; ſtraight before us a large and noble town in one great blaze; the church ſteeples, being of timber, were great pyramids of fire above the reſt; behind us, the church ſteeples and heights of our own camp covered with ſpectators of the reſt of our army which was engaged; the hills round the country covered with ſpectators, the enemy all in anxious ſuſpence; the roar of cannon, mortars and muſquetry, the cruſh of churches, ſhips upon the ſtocks, and whole ſtreets falling together in ruins, to fill the ear; the ſtorm of redoubts, with the objects above deſcribed to fill the eye, and the reflexion that perhaps a defeat was a final loſs of the Britiſh empire in America, to fill the mind—made the whole a picture and complication of horror and importance, beyond any thing that ever came to my lot to be witneſs to.—Yet the day ended with glory, and the ſucceſs was moſt important, conſidering the aſcendency it gave the regular troops; but the loſs was uncommon in officers, for the number engaged."

VII. CAN this be believed by poſterity? Major Pitcairn, who was moſt forward in firing upon our people at Lexington, was now ſlain, with two other field officers, two of Howe's aids, ſeven Captains, and about eight hundred men; beſides near

as

as many more who died of their wounds, while our loſs was but about half that number. All this in driving the deſpiſed Americans from a redoubt they had raiſed in one night, under the direction of a phyſician* as their chief commander; and after he fell, the Britiſh veterans did not venture to purſue our people, though it might have been done for half a mile, under the protection of their own ſhips and batteries. Is this their glory! it was glorying in their ſhame. And a plain account of their motives here follows. Charles Lee had been an officer under Burgoyne in the laſt war, and had contracted a near friendſhip with him; and hearing of his arrival at Boſton, he ſent him a letter, which Burgoyne anſwered from thence, July 8; and ſaid, "The vital principle of the conſtitution, in which it moves and has its being, is the ſupremacy of the King in Parliament: A compound, indefinite, indefeaſible power, coeval with the origin of the empire, and co-extenſive over all its parts." And having laid this as his foundation, he, in an artful manner, went on to compare our conduct with theirs who beheaded Charles, and ſet up Cromwell; and that of his party, to thoſe who expelled James, and crowned William; and then ſays, "Theſe principles, depend upon it, actuate the army and fleet throughout; and let me at the ſame time add, that there are few if any gentlemen among us who would have drawn their ſwords in the cauſe of ſlavery.—I know Great-Britain is ready to open her arms upon the firſt overture of accommodation. I know ſhe is equally *reſolute* to maintain her

* The Honorable Joſeph Warren, of Boſton, who had juſt before been appointed a Major-General by our Provincial Congreſs.

her original rights; and if the war proceeds, your one hundred and fifty thouſand men will not be a match for HER POWER." This was their capital argument; which, however, failed him and his army at Saratoga two years after. Our ſecond Continental Congreſs met at Philadelphia May 10, and ſent a petition to the King, wherein they aſſured him, that their ardent deſire was, for the reſtoration of the former harmony between the two countries, and for its eſtabliſhment upon a permanent and laſting baſis; and ſaid, "Our breaſts retain too tender a regard for the kingdom from which we derive our origin, to requeſt ſuch a reconciliation as might in any manner be inconſiſtent with her *dignity and welfare*." And they prayed him to direct to ſome mode wherein ſuch a reconciliation might be accompliſhed. On September 1, this petition was delivered to Lord Dartmouth, by Governor Penn, and Mr. Arthur Lee; to whom the miniſter ſaid, "No anſwer would be given." Now compare this with Burgoyne's declaration. He called their claims over the Colonies original rights, and the vital principle of the conſtitution; which was ſo oppoſite to truth, that it is impoſſible for any men ever to have ſuch a right to power over others: And inſtead of a readineſs for accommodation, they were earneſtly barring the door againſt it. General Gage covenanted with our friends in Boſton, that if they would deliver up their arms and ammunition, they ſhould have liberty to go out with their other effects. But when he had thus diſarmed them, he violated his promiſe in a ſhameful manner; which raiſed both the reſentment and the contempt of the country againſt his party. It taught the people not to con-

ſide in their promiſes, and alſo to deſpiſe them; as being afraid, that if our women and children were not kept there as hoſtages, the people would ruſh in and deſtroy or captivate their boaſting army.

VIII. On the other hand, becauſe Cromwell, with the wiſdom of the ſerpent, but not the innocency of the dove, made a great overturn in the nation, which yet ended in confuſion and ſlavery, our enemies imagined that nothing better could take place here, if we revolted from their King. But how far are God's thoughts above theirs? He raiſed up a man in Virginia, the oldeſt of our Colonels, who, by the Congreſs, was unanimouſly appointed the chief commander of our armies; and as ſuch arrived at the camp at Cambridge July 2. And through eight perilous campaigns he was preſerved in ſafety and health, was enabled to unite reaſon and reſolution, authority and mildneſs, until his country was delivered from the moſt imminent dangers, and peace reſtored to the nations; and then he as readily reſigned his command as ever he received it, and joyfully retired into a private ſtation, followed with the univerſal eſteem and bleſſings of his country; while a demonſtration is hereby held up to all the world, that prudence, uprightneſs and benevolence, will procure and preſerve that honor, authority and happineſs, which are in vain ſought for in any other way.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVII.

1. Reaſons why the Baptiſts joined in this War. 2. Gracious Viſitations in our Land. 3. Labours for equal Liberty. 4. New Attempts to divide and enſlave America. 5. The Folly thereof expoſed. 6. Great Exploits performed. 7. To which ſucceeded terrible Inroads of the Enemy. 8. Yet wonderful Relief was granted againſt them. 9. Their amazing Cruelty. 10. Vaſt Uncertainty of our Affairs. 11. The cloſing Scenes of the War.

I. SINCE the Baptiſts have often been oppreſſed in this land, and would have ſuffered more than they did, had it not been for reſtraints from Great-Britain, how came they to join in a war againſt her? Many have wondered at it, and ſome have cenſured them ſeverely therefor. But they had the following reaſons for their conduct. 1. Where Epiſcopalians have had all the power of government, they have never allowed others ſo much liberty as we here enjoyed. In England all are taxed to their worſhip, while none are admitted into civil offices but communicants in

in their church. In Virginia they cruelly impriſoned Baptiſt miniſters, only for preaching the goſpel to periſhing ſouls without licence from their Courts, until this war compelled them to deſiſt therefrom. Of this we had inconteſtible evidence. Therefore we could have no rational hopes of any real advantage in joining with them. 2. The worſt treatment we here met with came from the ſame principles, and much of it from the ſame perſons, as the American war did. Many proofs of this have already been given, and more are at hand if called for. 3. The firſt Baptiſt miniſter in America publicly held forth, that all righteous government is founded in compact, expreſſed or implied; which is equally binding upon rulers and ruled; ſo that every officer, whether ſucceeding or elected, who intermeddles in any matter not fairly derived from thence, goes beyond his commiſſion. (Vol. 1, p. 168.) When therefore our countrymen adopted theſe principles, and founded their oppoſition to arbitrary claims wholly thereon, how could we avoid joining with them? For, 4. thoſe claims appeared to us abſolutely unjuſt, and a direct violation of the immutable rules of truth and equity; ſo that a concurrence with them would have brought ſuch guilt upon our conſciences, as is infinitely worſe than all the frowns of men. 5. Though heavy corrections were to be expected, yet a ſtrong hope was begotten of final deliverance to this land; the good effects whereof might hereafter return to the people who now invaded our rights. It is not pretended that our denomination were all agreed, or had equal clearneſs in theſe points; but a majority of them were, more or leſs, influenced thereby.

II. A

II. A MAIN ground of the hope now mentioned, was the gracious viſitations granted from time to time, in various parts of this country, which beſpoke a deſign of final deliverance, and not of deſtruction or ſlavery. Within ſeven years paſt ſeveral thouſands had been hopefully converted from the errors of their ways, in Virginia, the Carolinas and Georgia. In and after the year 1773, a powerful work prevailed in Pittsfield, Adams, Laneſborough, Hancock, and other towns in Berkſhire; and the like in the adjacent parts of the county of Albany, and into the State of Vermont; which raiſed and increaſed many Baptiſt churches there. And, to come nearer home, the ſecond Baptiſt church in Middleborough was reduced very low, until a revival began in the ſpring of 1773, which by the fall of 1775 cauſed the addition of ninety members to that church, and thirty to our third church in this town. The work extended into the eaſt and moſt uncultivated part of Freetown, where it raiſed a new church, and another in Dartmouth. In November, 1774, a like bleſſing was granted in Attleborough, which in ten months added thirty members to the firſt Baptiſt church there, and a number more to other ſocieties. In December this revival extended into Providence, where it prevailed glorioufly through the winter. Their college enjoyed a precious ſhare of it, the good effects whereof are ſtill experienced in diſtant churches. In ten months, more than an hundred perſons were added to the Baptiſt church there, beſide large additions to other churches in the town. And though the alarms of war in the ſpring cauſed a great interruption of ſpiritual exerciſes and enjoyments, in places near the ſcene of action, yet the ſame were promoted thereby in diſtant places. At the time of the

Bunker-

Bunker-Hill battle, a young phyſician was converted at Harverd, thirty-five miles off, who was called the next year to preach the goſpel; and he is now paſtor of a large Baptiſt church there, who are chiefly the ſeals of his miniſtry. Royalſton and Richmond, to the northward, and Suffield, to the weſtward, were favoured with a conſiderable revival of religion at this time, as Pomfret, Killingly, and other towns in Connecticut, were in 1776. And while the defence of the civil rights of America appeared a matter of great importance, our religious liberties were by no means to be neglected; and the conteſt concerning each kept a pretty even pace through the war.

III. VIEWING the Continental Congreſs as our higheſt civil reſort, the Warren Aſſociation, at their meeting at Medfield, September 13, 1774, agreed to ſend their agent to Philadelphia, there to follow the beſt advice he could obtain, to procure ſome influence from thence in their favour. A Convention of the county of Suffolk, at this time the head county of our Province, gave countenance to this procedure; for their ſeventeenth reſolve ſays, "This county, confiding in the wiſdom and integrity of the Continental Congreſs, now ſitting at Philadelphia, will pay all due reſpect and ſubmiſſion to ſuch meaſures as may be recommended by them to the Colonies, for the reſtoration and eſtabliſhment of our juſt rights, civil and *religious**." Theſe reſolves were carried by ſaid agent to that city; where he met with an Aſſociation of Baptiſt churches, from ſeveral adjacent Colonies, who elected a large Committee to aſſiſt in the affair, and by their requeſt a conference

* The Congreſs gave their ſpecial approbation of theſe reſolves.

ence was procured in the evening of October 14, with the Honorable Delegates from our Province to Congreſs, in the preſence of ſeveral more of their members, and other gentlemen. It was opened by reading a brief memorial of our chief grievances in the Maſſachuſetts, on religious accounts, which our Delegates endeavoured to anſwer; firſt by denying that we had any cauſe for ſuch complaints, and then by attempting to caſt all the blame thereof upon the executive department, and aſſerting that our Legiſlature were entirely clear of it; but plain facts, eſpecially in the Aſhfield affair, confuted both of theſe pleas; and the conference was cloſed with a promiſe from ſaid Delegates of the exertion of their influence in our favour. But as ſome in Philadelphia made an attempt to turn theſe things againſt the general union of the Colonies, in the defence of our civil rights, a report was induſtriouſly ſpread in New-England, before ſaid Baptiſt agent got home, that he had been to Philadelphia on purpoſe to break that union. And while he was gone, the firſt pariſh in his own town voted to tax all the Baptiſts therein to their miniſter, becauſe they refuſed to give them any more certificates. He therefore ſoon met the Baptiſt committee at Boſton, by whoſe advice a plain memorial of their grievances and deſires was laid before our Provincial Congreſs; to which the following anſwer was returned.

"*In Provincial Congreſs, Cambridge, Dec.* 9, 1774.

"On reading the memorial of the Reverend Iſaac Backus, Agent to the Baptiſt churches in this government:

"Resolved, That the eſtabliſhment of civil and religious liberty, to each denomination in the Province,

Province, is the ſincere wiſh of this Congreſs: But being by no means veſted with powers of civil government, whereby they can redreſs the grievances of any perſon whatever, they therefore recommend to the Baptiſt churches, that when a General Aſſembly ſhall be convened in this Colony, they lay the real grievances of ſaid churches before the ſame, when and where their petition will moſt certainly meet with all that attention due to the memorial of a denomination of Chriſtians ſo well diſpoſed to the public weal of their country.

"*By order of the Congreſs,*

JOHN HANCOCK, *Preſident.*

A true extract from the minutes,

BENJAMIN LINCOLN, *Sec'ry.*"

OUR former charter provided, that when the Province ſhould happen to be deſtitute of any Governor or Lieutenant-Governor, the Council and Repreſentatives ſhould have the whole legiſlative power therein. Therefore, by the advice of the Continental Congreſs, ſuch an Aſſembly was convened at Watertown, July 19, 1775; to whom in September the Warren Aſſociation preſented a memorial, wherein, after mentioning the above advice, they ſay, "Our real grievances are, that we, as well as our fathers, have, from time to time, been taxed on religious accounts where we were not repreſented; and when we have ſued for our rights, our cauſes have been tried by intereſted judges. That the Repreſentatives in former Aſſemblies, as well as the preſent, were elected by virtue only of civil and worldly qualifications, is a truth ſo evident, that we preſume it need not be proved to this Aſſembly; and for a civil Legiſlature to impoſe religious taxes, is, we conceive, a power which their conſtituents never had to give; and is there-

therefore going entirely out of their juriſdiction.—Under the legal diſpenſation, where God himſelf preſcribed the exact proportion of what the people were to give, yet none but perſons of the worſt characters ever attempted to *take it by force*. 1 Sam. ii. 12, 16. Mica. iii. 5—9. How daring then muſt it be for any to do it for Chriſt's miniſters, who ſays, *my kingdom is not of this world!*——We beſeech this honorable Aſſembly to take theſe matters into their wiſe and ſerious conſideration, before him who has ſaid, *with what meaſure ye mete it ſhall be meaſured to you again*. Is not all America now appealing to heaven, againſt the injuſtice of being taxed where we are not repreſented, and againſt being judged by men who are intereſted in getting away our money? And will heaven approve of your *doing the ſame thing* to your fellow ſervants! No, ſurely.——We have no deſire of repreſenting this government as the worſt of any who have impoſed religious taxes; we fully believe the contrary. Yet, as we are perſuaded that an entire freedom from being taxed by civil rulers to religious worſhip, is not a mere favour, from any man or men in the world, but a right and property granted us by God, who commands us to *ſtand faſt in it*, we have not only the ſame reaſon to refuſe an acknowledgment of ſuch a taxing power here, as America has the aboveſaid power, but alſo, according to our preſent light, we ſhould wrong our conſciences in allowing that power to men, which we believe belongs only to God."—This memorial was read in the Aſſembly, and was ordered to lie a week on the table, and was then read again, and debated upon, and was referred to a committee, upon the receipt of whoſe report it was read a third time, and liberty granted to bring in a bill in our favour;

and ſuch a bill was received and read once, and a time ſet for a ſecond reading: But then other buſineſs was crowded in, and nothing more done upon it. Such is the diſpoſition of mankind.

IV. As the Britiſh miniſtry were deceived, and entirely diſappointed in their firſt ſcheme, a new one was invented, in the cloſe of 1775; which was, by acts of Parliament, to declare all theſe Colonies to be in a ſtate of rebellion, and out of the King's protection; to hire a large army from Germany, to add terror to the roarings of the Britiſh lion; and then to appoint Commiſſioners to proclaim pardon and peace to any Colony or place that ſhould ſubmit to their power, and promiſe to raiſe as much money among themſelves as the Court of Britain ſhould judge to be their proportion, towards the ſupport and defence of government: Their peace to laſt as long as this was done. And in order to man the Britiſh ſhips, and to make all afraid of their power, their commanders were ordered to enter the names of as many of the captives whom they ſhould take as they thought proper, among the liſt of their hands on board, ſo as to compel them to fight againſt their own country, and to be puniſhed as deſerters, if they ſhould attempt to make their eſcape. And had not the Lord been on our ſide, when men thus roſe up againſt us, how ſoon would they have ſwallowed us up! But when, in his wiſe diſpenſations, he had given them all the advantages that could well be conceived of, how eaſily did he turn their counſels into fooliſhneſs? For when the Britiſh party in Boſton came to look out in the morning of March 13, 1776, behold! two ſtately forts appeared on the top of two hills in Dorcheſter, capable of commanding both the town and the ſhips in the harbour. Burgoyne's

letter

letter to England the June before informs us, that his party had laid a plan to take poſſeſſion of thoſe hills, which was to have been executed the 18th of that month; but was prevented by the Bunker-Hill battle the preceding day. And as the only land-paſſage on to thoſe heights was acroſs an open marſh, within half a mile of their guards on Boſton-Neck, and as they had a multitude of their friends ſcattered through the country, was it poſſible for ſeveral hundred tuns weight of materials to be prepared before, and then to be carted ſome miles on to thoſe hills, and two forts to be erected there in one night, by the undiſciplined Americans, and the ſagacious Britons know nothing about it! Yet ſuch was the event; and let them deny it if they can. Not only ſo, but while they were preparing to go over and attack thoſe forts, the winds and waves were put into ſuch a commotion, as finally prevented the attempt. And on March 17 the Britiſh army, with a large number of our inimical countrymen, fled from Boſton; and ſoon ſailed to Nova-Scotia, or to Britain. Indeed ſome of their men of war were left in Nantaſket road, out of the reach of our cannon; yet on May 17 a ſmall armed veſſel took a large ſtoreſhip of theirs in the bay, which was conveyed into Boſton in their ſight, and they had not power to prevent it, having on board a thouſand ſtands of arms, fifteen hundred whole barrels of powder, and a large quantity of other neceſſary ſupplies for our army. And on June 14 their ſhips were compelled to quit the lower harbour, by the firing of ſome cannon which our people had conveyed down the night before; whereby that port was again opened, which was cruelly ſhut up two years before. And about four hundred and fifty of their troops were captivated by our cruizers about this time;

time; and a vaſt quantity of their goods of all kinds were taken and brought into our country.

V. Not aware of ſuch events, the next object of Britiſh policy was, to appoint ſuch men to execute their new plan as ſhould be able to divide the Colonies, by drawing ſome part of them to accept of their pardons. And as Lord George Howe, who was ſlain near Ticonderoga, July 6, 1758, was ſo much beloved here, that the Maſſachuſetts were at the expence of erecting a monument for him in Weſtminſter-Abbey, who could be ſo likely to gain upon our people as his two brothers? William was already appointed Governor of this Province, and Chief General of their armies; and Richard, ſucceſſor in title to George, and an intimate friend to Dr. Franklin, was now made Chief Admiral of their fleet; and they were made joint Commiſſioners to proclaim pardon to all who would accept of it on the above terms. And as an army of thirty-five thouſand men was to be at their command, who would not be glad to receive their pardon and protection, rather than to be a mark for their reſentment? But alas! the winds and waves were ſo contrary, that the two brothers could not meet, to ſend out their proclamations, until July 12, eight days after the Congreſs, by the conſent of the people in the thirteen Colonies, had declared them to be FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES. However, from on board their ſhips near New-York, they ſent forth their proclamations, which our people readily propagated through all theſe States. And, with a packet to Congreſs, Lord Howe ſent a letter to his friend Franklin, a member of it, wherein he ſays, "Retaining all the earneſtneſs I ever expreſſed to ſee our differences accommodated, I ſhall conceive, if I meet with the diſpoſitions in the Colonies which

I was

I was once taught to expect, the moſt flattering hopes of proving ſerviceable, in the objects of the King's paternal ſolicitude, by promoting the eſtabliſhment of laſting peace and union with the Colonies. But if the deep-rooted prejudices of America, and the neceſſity of preventing her trade from paſſing into foreign channels, muſt keep us ſtill a divided people, I ſhall, from every private as well as public motive, moſt heartily lament that it is not the moment wherein thoſe great objects of my ambition are to be attained."——Franklin returned an anſwer from Philadelphia July 30, wherein he ſays, "The official diſpatches, to which you refer me, contain nothing more than we had ſeen in the act of Parliament, viz. offers of pardon upon ſubmiſſion; which I am ſorry to find, as it muſt give your Lordſhip pain to be ſent ſo far on ſo hopeleſs a buſineſs. Directing pardons to be offered to the Colonies, who are the very parties injured, expreſſes indeed that opinion of our ignorance, baſeneſs and inſenſibility, which your uninformed and proud nation has long been pleaſed to entertain of us; but it can have no other effect than that of encreaſing our reſentment. It is impoſſible we ſhould think of ſubmiſſion to a government that has, with the moſt wanton barbarity and cruelty, burnt our defenceleſs towns, in the midſt of winter; excited the ſavages to maſſacre peaceful farmers, and our ſlaves to murder their maſters; and is even now bringing foreign mercenaries to deluge our ſettlements with blood*.——Long did I endeavour, with unfeigned and

* October 17, 1775, the enemy burnt four hundred and ſeventeen buildings in the town of Falmouth, in Caſco-Bay. In the evening of the 7th of that month, their ſhips fired upon the town of Briſtol, near Swanzey; which cauſed the death of Mr. John Burt,

and unwearied zeal, to preſerve from breaking that fine and noble china vaſe, the Britiſh empire; for I knew, that being once broken, the ſeparate parts could not retain even their ſhares of the ſtrength and value that exiſted in the whole; and that a perfect re-union of theſe parts could ſcarce ever be hoped for.—The well-founded eſteem, and, permit me to ſay, affection, which I ſhall always have for your Lordſhip, make it painful for me to ſee you engaged in conducting a war, the great ground of which, as deſcribed in your letter, is the neceſſity of preventing the American trade from paſſing into foreign channels. To me it ſeems that neither the obtaining or retaining any trade, how valuable ſoever, is an object for which men may juſtly ſpill each others blood: That the true and ſure means of extending and ſecuring commerce, are the goodneſs and cheapneſs of commodities; and that the profits of no trade can ever be equal to the expence of compelling it, and holding it by fleets and armies."

THE real nature of the controverſy is here ſtated in a fair and elegant manner; and its whole progreſs verifies the truth of the word which ſays, *only by pride cometh contention; and the love of money is the root of all evil.* And can a clearer demonſtration thereof be given, than for the inhabitants of one country to claim a right to be lawgivers and judges for others

Burt, their miniſter, and ſome others. Lord Dunmore, Governor of Virginia, retired on board an armed ſhip, and drew off all the ſlaves and others that he could; and, after much other miſchief, they burnt the town of Norfolk on January 1, 1776; in which cruel action, beſides the unnatural nature of it, the whole loſs to the inhabitants was computed at above three hundred thouſand pounds. And a man was taken up, upon his way to the Ohio Indians, with a Colonel's commiſſion from General Gage, to command all the ſavages and others that he could raiſe in the wilderneſs againſt us.

others three thouſand miles off, ſo as to diſpoſe of their perſons and property without their conſent? A darling practice of our age, eſpecially among high politicians, is to ſet up reaſon above divine revelation; but how will their rules ſuit in this caſe? One of their noted authors expreſly denies that God had a right to command Abraham to ſacrifice his ſon, with an intent to have it obeyed; and ſays, "The command might be given in order to convince Abraham, that even his *honeſty* and *integrity*, when not under the direction of *his* underſtanding, might *miſlead* him in the conducting of his actions." The reaſon given for thus ſetting up an *inward rule* above the *written word*, is this: Says he, "It was *right* and *fit*, in the nature of the thing, that Abraham ſhould guard and protect the life of Iſaac; which obligation, as it is founded in nature, ſo it is *independent* of, and *antecedent* to, any divine command; yea, it is antecedent to the *conſideration* of a *deity*, becauſe it muſt and would be the ſame, if there were no ſuch thing as a deity*." Yet when he comes to the queſtion, *from whence does evil proceed?* he ſays, "The difficulty in this caſe may not ariſe from the ſtate of things, but from the *weakneſs* of our underſtandings, and the *ſhortneſs* of our knowledge, which render us incapable of ſeeing *through* and to the *end* of them†." Very true; why then do theſe weak and dark minds refuſe entire ſubmiſſion and ready obedience to HIM whoſe underſtanding is infinite? Had any due regard been paid to his authority in our mother iſland, we ſhould never have heard of *paternal ſolicitude* in invading the unalienable rights of her children; nor of pardons brought upon the points

* Chubb's tracts, printed in London, 1754, vol. 2. p. 3, 12.
† Page 22.

points of bayonets! At the ſame time we have juſt cauſe to confeſs, that all our ſufferings were leſs than our iniquities deſerved, and that we were far from giving God all the glory of our ſupport and deliverance, as we ought to have done. To give a particular hiſtory of this war is out of my province, though a conciſe view of the chief events of it comes into our plan. Yet wanting time and means for it, my narrative muſt neceſſarily be incomplete.

VI. As Canada had long been a dreadful ſcourge to New-England, and the repeating of thoſe bloody tragedies was intended by our enemies, amazing exertions were made to prevent it, and to unite that country with ours. Moſt of its inhabitants deſired it, which was a great inducement to this attempt. Therefore the Colonels Ethen Allen and Seth Warner, encouraged thereto by the authority of Connecticut, ſurprized and took the ſtrong fortreſſes of Ticonderoga and Crown-Point, May 10, 1775, without the loſs of a man on either ſide; whereby above two hundred pieces of cannon, two veſſels on Lake-Champlain, and a large quantity of other ſtores, fell into our hands. All this was done by three hundred and thirty men, chiefly from the State of Vermont. An army followed under General Montgomery, and after a cloſe ſiege took St. Johns, at the farther end of ſaid lake, and obtained the city of Montreal, November 13; previous whereto Allen was taken and carried to Europe. In September Colonel Arnold ſet off from Cambridge with eleven hundred men, and marched to Newbury-Port, from whence they ſailed into Kennebeck river, and went up to its head. And though near a third part of them then returned back, yet the remainder went forward, through a great and terrible wilderneſs, over rivers, hills and mountains,

where

where they ſaw not the habitation of any human perſon for thirty-one days, until they arrived among the Canadians on November 3, by whom they were kindly treated. And the falling ſnows, ſevere coldneſs of the air, and other unſpeakable difficulties in that northern region, did not hinder their march forward, nor the junction of Montgomery's forces with them in December before Quebec, the capital of Canada. Theſe were ſome of the doings of a people, whom Britiſh policy, or rather folly, had declared to be cowards and paltroons. Allen and Arnold ſprang from the deſpiſed Rhode-Iſlanders. On the other hand, as General Clinton had ſailed from Boſton with ſome forces, General Lee ſet off by land, and headed him at New-York, in Virginia, and in North and South-Carolina. At length, being reinforced from Britain in June, by Admiral Parker and Lord Cornwallis, a furious attack was made upon the fort on Sullivan's Iſland, near Charleſton; but they were defeated, with great damages in their ſhipping, as well as loſs of their men; and the remainder returned and joined their main body near New-York. General Waſhington with our main army was there, and had erected various fortifications in that city, and upon Long-Iſland. And through the land many gloried in what the Americans had done, and evidently treated their enemies with contempt. But how vain did their glorying ſoon appear?

VII. OUR army met with a terrible defeat on Long-Iſland, Auguſt 28; were forced to evacuate the city of New-York, September 13; fought on a retreat at the White-Plains; Fort Waſhington was given up November 16; General Lee was taken December 13; and General Waſhington with the ſmall remnant of our army retreated beyond the

Delaware. Raviſhing of women, and plundering of houſes, by an enraged enemy, was ſeen through all the beautiful country of New-Jerſey, and their cantonments were extended into the towns of Trenton, Bordentown and Burlington, on the Delaware; the latter within twenty miles of Philadelphia, over to which a few freezing nights might give them an eaſy paſſage. And if we turn our eyes to the north, we behold General Montgomery ſlain, December 31, in attempting to ſtorm Quebec. In the ſpring our army were forced to make a haſty retreat from thence, being moſt cruelly harraſſed by the enemy, and greatly diſtreſſed at the ſame time with the ſmall-pox. And though a coſtly fleet to oppoſe them was formed on Lake-Champlain, yet it was loſt on October 12. And on December 8 the enemy, with a powerful force, took poſſeſſion of Rhode-Iſland, near the heart of New-England. Our firſt army enliſted for eight months, the ſecond for a year, which was now expiring, and the ſoldiers were daily returning home. Our paper money had been kept in good credit, until large additional ſums were made in September, which leſſened its value; and ſuch vaſt quantities of goods were taken by our cruizers, and ſold at public auction, that ſugars roſe from five dollars and a third per hundred to ten dollars in three months, and the like in other goods. Thus our proſperity ſeemed likely to deſtroy us, for if our public credit failed, confuſion and ſlavery appeared the unavoidable conſequence. And, to accompliſh this, if poſſible, the enemy counterfeited our paper currency at New-York, and in a clandeſtine manner diſperſed large quantities of it through the country. Every earthly help failed us; but as our appeal had been to heaven againſt oppreſſors, many cries now undoubtedly aſcended there, ſaying,

give

give us help from trouble, for vain is the help of man. And what an anſwer thereto was returned!

VIII. While the enemy were expecting in a few days to march in triumph to Philadelphia, on December 26 General Waſhington takes near a thouſand of them, and carries them there as captives. And though a large reinforcement of the enemy marched up to Trenton, and expected to have our General and his forces in the morning, yet the next news they hear of him is at Princeton, a dozen miles off, where he captivates another party of their troops, and is ſoon gone out of their way, January 2, 1777. Theſe things terrified the enemy in ſuch a manner as to call in and confine them at Brunſwick, within ſight of their ſhipping, until ſpring, when they returned to New-York. Hard attempts indeed were made by ſome, to perſuade the world that bribery moved the Britiſh General thus to act: As if men who could ſcarcely reward their friends for neceſſary ſervices, could outbid their enemies, who had the wealth of both the Indies at command! Such violence will courtiers offer to reaſon, rather than to confeſs that wherein they deal proudly God is above them, and eaſily turns their counſels into fooliſhneſs. For though their main army ſailed into Cheſapeak-Bay, and marched from thence to Philadelphia in September, and kept it one winter, yet they got no real advantage thereby. Rather, by dividing their forces, they prepared the way for their own confuſion. Burgoyne had acquired a large ſhare of military ſkill and fame, in former wars in Europe and in the Eaſt-Indies; and thirteen thouſand troops were aſſigned him, beſides ſavage auxiliaries, to invade our country from Canada. Ticonderoga was thought by many to be almoſt impregnable, and yet it was deſerted by our army,

July

July 5, before it was fully inveſted by the enemy, who purſued and harraſſed our people moſt terribly. And if the ſtrongeſt fortreſs in the land was thus given up, only upon ſeeing the manner of the enemy's approach, how eaſily might they ſubdue an open country, and march where they pleaſed! Where is the power now that can defend us! A great conſternation ſpread through the country; and to purſue this advantage with the utmoſt ſpeed, moved Burgoyne to take ſuch methods as effectually defeated his deſigns. Had he returned a little back, and taken the advantage of a water paſſage over Lake-George, he might have reached to Fort-Edward much ſooner than he did. But fearing an abatement of the ardour of his troops, and of the conſternation of the Americans, he purſued them in a way attended with great natural impediments, which were much augmented by fallen trees and other obſtacles then thrown in their way. So that by the time he ſent out a party towards Bennington, with a haughty proclamation to intimidate our countrymen, their ſpirits were revived, and on Auguſt 16 they faced the enemy's encampment, and forced their lines with undaunted reſolution. His weſtern detachment, under St. Ledger, was alſo defeated. And the chief commanders in that department being removed, and others appointed, in whom our people had confidence, they were all alive in the defence of our country. Ticonderoga was recovered, and every reſource and way of eſcape was cut off; ſo that the haughty General and his army had no way left but to ſurrender themſelves and their weapons into the hands of the people they had greatly abuſed and deſpiſed. This was on October 17. All Europe were aſtoniſhed at this event; and one of their moſt powerful

ful Princes ſoon made the propoſal, which was accompliſhed on February 6, 1778, of coming into an alliance with the United States of America. Hereby a great turn was made in our affairs, and a door was opened for our deliverance, though not without many other trying ſcenes.

IX. As the invaders of our rights called us rebels, it was very difficult ſettling a cartel for the exchange of priſoners; and when that was agreed upon, new difficulties about it ſoon aroſe. When they had taken General Lee, who had been one of their officers, he was not dealt with as our country officers in their hands were; which moved the Congreſs to order ſome retaliation upon their officers in our hands, which cauſed reciprocal complaints, and many terrible actions on both ſides. On January 1, 1777, two hundred of our countrymen, who had been priſoners at New-York, were brought to Milford to be exchanged; but they had been ſo cruelly uſed, that a very large part of them died before their friends could have notice of it, ſo as to afford them any relief. Two young men from Middleborough, and a pious member of a Baptiſt church in Attleborough, died there in that manner. And during the war their priſon-ſhips at New-York deſtroyed many thouſands of our people, in a much more cruel manner than common murder. Therefore when there was a want of union and vigour in the defence of our country at any time, new attempts of the enemy againſt us never failed of ſupplying that want. They plainly acted like thieves and robbers in all parts of the land. In the morning of May 25, 1778, a party of them came up to Warren, and burnt their meeting-houſe and miniſter's houſe, with ſome others; plundered their goods, and carried off ſeveral of the inhabitants

that

that were not in arms, one of whom was the paſtor of the Baptiſt church there, who was confined for ſome time in a priſon-ſhip at Newport. On their return they burnt a number of houſes in Briſtol, among which was their Epiſcopal church. But I muſt not enlarge upon this ſubject. Other Commiſſioners were now ſent over, with new offers of pardon, and alſo of an enlargement of our privileges, if we would ſubmit to the Britiſh government. Copies thereof were ſent to the Congreſs, and to the Governors of the ſeveral States. In anſwer to thoſe ſent to Governor Trumbull, he well ſaid, "There was a day when even this ſtep, from our then acknowledged parent ſtate, might have been accepted with joy and gratitude; but that day, ſir, is paſt irrecoverably. The repeated rejection of our ſincere and ſufficiently humble petitions; the commencement of hoſtilities; the inhumanity which has marked the proſecution of the war on your part in its ſeveral ſtages; the inſolence which diſplays itſelf on every petty advantage; the cruelties which have been exerciſed on thoſe unhappy men, whom the fortune of war has thrown into your hands; all theſe are inſuperable bars to the very idea of concluding a peace with Great-Britain, on any other conditions than the moſt abſolute, perfect independence." However, the vaſt uncertainty of human affairs muſt yet be largely experienced, before ſuch a peace could be obtained.

X. General Howe was recalled, and Clinton took his place as Chief Commander; and he evacuated Philadelphia, after they had poſſeſſed it near nine months, and marched his army acroſs the lower part of New-Jerſey, where General Waſhington gave them battle, near Monmouth court-houſe, June 28; when many were ſlain on both

ſides,

ſides, and the exceſſive heat of the air cut off many more. And no ſooner had the Britiſh troops arrived at New-York, than a powerful French fleet appeared upon the coaſts, and came before that place. Britiſh fears and American hopes were raiſed hereby; which alternately were as changeable as the winds. The French made no attempt upon New-York; but their ſpeedy arrival at Rhode-Iſland cauſed conſiderable deſtruction of the Britiſh ſhipping, and raiſed the hopes of our people of ſeeing that place delivered. Many thouſands were collected for that purpoſe, who, under the command of General Sullivan, landed upon the iſland, Auguſt 9. But the appearance of the Britiſh fleet drew that of France out of the harbour the ſame day; and a terrible ſtorm ſoon diſperſed and ſhattered both fleets, ſo as to prevent any general engagement, or a deliverance to Rhode-Iſland. In December the capital of Georgia was taken, by a party of the Britiſh troops. In 1779 various attempts were made to open a paſſage up the North River; but finding it impracticable, a ſtrong party was ſent to New-Haven, who ſlew a number of the inhabitants, and plundered the town; and then went and burnt the beautiful towns of Fairfield and Norwalk. Their malignity was hereby further diſcovered; but it could not draw the ſagacious Waſhington from the mountains, while he ſaw a powerful fleet and army below him. From Georgia a party of their troops marched to the gates of Charleſton; but the arrival of a French fleet on the coaſts turned them back to Savannah; which place our friends attempted to take by ſtorm on October 9, but without ſucceſs. Thus the hopes of help from our allies were a ſecond time diſappointed. The produce of the field was alſo

ſo

ſo much cut ſhort laſt year, that bread was the ſcarceſt the beginning of this that we had ever known. And to have the judgment of famine added to that of the ſword, would be terrible indeed. But infinite goodneſs now gave us an earlier harveſt than we had ever ſeen, and in a few months our ſcarcity was turned into plenty. And on October 24 the enemy went off from Rhode-Iſland, which was a great relief to this part of the country.

XI. HAVING made ſufficient trial of theſe northern hills, they flattered themſelves with much greater advantages in the ſouthern plains of America. And for a while it ſeemed as if in that way they would have carried all before them. A large force ſailed from New-York in December, and though they had a tempeſtuous paſſage, yet after ſome repairs at Georgia they came and beſieged the capital of South-Carolina; which was compelled to yield to them, May 12, 1780. The country then lay open to their ravages; and on Auguſt 16 General Gates, who had gained great fame in the north, was entirely defeated in thoſe ſouthern regions. And though a French fleet and army arrived at Rhode-Iſland July 10, yet none could then tell whether we ſhould obtain any ſolid benefit thereby. Our public credit was ſinking daily, even ſo that ſcarce any recruits for our army could be obtained, but upon private perſonal ſecurity. And in November the officers therein conſtrained the Congreſs to promiſe them half-pay during life, to prevent their deſerting the public ſervice of their country. In June our currency had depreciated ſo far, that ſeventy-five paper dollars were readily given for one of ſilver. By orders from Congreſs, the New-England States then came into ſuch meaſures as kept it at a ſtay until February,

February, 1781; when the pouring in vaſt quantities of it from the ſouthward gave it ſuch a rapid turn, that it run entirely down in May, ſo as to ſtop paſſing. Before which General Greene, on March 14, loſt a large number of men in the battle of Guilford court-houſe, in North-Carolina; from whence Lord Cornwallis marched with a powerful army into Virginia, where he ſpread much terror, and laid waſte the country; while the credit of Congreſs was ſunk ſo low, as ſcarcely to be able to ſend the leaſt ſupply to General Greene. Yet, to the aſtoniſhment of our enemies, he was made inſtrumental of an entire recovery of South-Carolina and Georgia. A loan of money from France revived our public credit; their troops marched through the land, from Rhode-Iſland to Virginia; the winds and ſeas, with the hearts of the people, all concurred together to compel another experienced Britiſh General, with a large and powerful army, to yield themſelves as priſoners to the deſpiſed and much injured Americans, October 19, 1781. The effect of which was, that on November 30, 1782, the Britiſh Court fully gave up their claims to theſe Thirteen United States; which treaty was to take place as ſoon as peace was ſettled with France and the other powers concerned. Preliminaries for it were ſigned January 20, and the peace was ſettled in September, 1783. Though before we ſay more upon it, we muſt take a further look at things among ourſelves.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVIII.

1. A new Conſtitution framed, but not accepted. 2. Pepperell riot. 3. Government and Liberty deſcribed. 4. But much oppoſed. 5. Our preſent Conſtitution brought in. 6. Baptiſt Teſtimonies rejected. 7. What their Faith and Order is. 8. A Charge to embrace further Light as it opens.

1. OUR Aſſembly for 1777 were empowered to frame a new conſtitution of government, which was to be eſtabliſhed or rejected by the next Aſſembly. This was done in the winter after, but without any bill of rights; and an article was inſerted therein to adopt their old eccleſiaſtical laws, which cauſed the Baptiſt agent and committee to meet at Boſton February 21, 1778, and to draw up an addreſs to our next Aſſembly againſt thoſe laws, with a prayer that it might be fixed as a fundamental principle of our government, "That miniſters ſhall be ſupported only by Chriſt's authority, and not at all by aſſeſſment and ſecular force; which impartial liberty has long been claimed and enjoyed by the town of Boſton." An hundred copies of it were printed and diſperſed, and a large number of various denominations ſubſcribed it. This gave ſuch an alarm, that an earneſt warning was given to our rulers, in the election

ſermon

ſermon at Boſton, May 27, againſt making any alteration in their eſtabliſhed modes and uſages in religion; when it was ſaid, "Let the reſtraints of religion once be broken down, as they infallibly would be by leaving the ſubject of public worſhip to the humours of the multitude, and we might well defy all human wiſdom and power to ſupport and preſerve order and government in the State*." However that conſtitution was ſet aſide; and his party in the country, ſoon after, gave a remarkable diſcovery of what their ideas were about religion and good order.

II. For two young Baptiſt miniſters were called to preach in Pepperell, near forty miles northweſtward of Boſton, to whom ſix perſons offered themſelves as candidates for baptiſm. Therefore, on June 26, they met in a field by a river ſide, where prayers were made, and a ſermon begun, when the chief officers of the town, with many followers, came and interrupted their worſhip. The owner of the field warned them to depart out of it, if they would not be peaceable; but they refuſed to go. One of the Baptiſt miniſters deſired them to act like men, if they would not like Chriſtians; and reminded them of the liberty of conſcience which is generally allowed, and even by the powers we were at war with; and began to open the divine warrant therefor: Upon which an officer ſaid, "Don't quote ſcripture here!" Another of them, who was a communicant in their church, caſt the odious name tory upon one of thoſe candidates for baptiſm. And he no ſooner attempted to diſcover the injuſtice thereof, than the officer ſaid, "Hold your tongue, or I'll beat your teeth down your throat!" And a dog was carried into the river and plunged, in evident contempt

* Payſon's ſermon, p. 20.

contempt of our ſentiments. A gentleman of the town then invited the Baptiſts to go and hold their meeting at his houſe, which was near another river. They accepted of it, and ſo went through with their worſhip. At the cloſe of which a man was hired with a bowl of liquor to go into the river, and dip another two or three times over; where alſo two or three dogs more were plunged. After which three officers of the town came into the houſe where the Baptiſt miniſters were, and adviſed them immediately to depart out of that town for their own ſafety. Being aſked whether their lives would be in danger if they did not depart? no anſwer was returned. But ſeeing their temper, the Baptiſts agreed to diſperſe, and to meet at a diſtant place of water; which was performed, and thoſe ſix perſons were decently baptized, though further abuſe was offered at the cloſe of it. By direction of the Warren Aſſociation, an account of theſe things was publiſhed in the Independent Chronicle of October 15; which others laid before the Grand Jury of the county of Middleſex. But they were prevailed with to ſuſpend the matter, until the town ſhould vindicate themſelves. This they attempted in the Chronicle of November 12. It mainly turned upon diſputing the names of actions, and about the perſons who performed them. The Baptiſt account charged the hiring of a perſon to go into the water upon an officer, which was ſaid to be by way of mockery. But ſay the town, "The miſrepreſentation of this affair, and indeed a moſt unpardonable one it is, appears from conſidering, that the conduct of ſaid Bynton and Lawrence was altogether from the inſtigation of a youngſter, who promiſed Bynton a bowl of liquor on complying with his propoſal; and this was done inconſiderately, and not meant as

a piece

a piece of religious mockery. The officers of the town had no concern in that affair.——They were quite oppoſite, and particular care was taken by the officers of the town to prevent *riotous* behaviour, and to maintain peace and *good order*. That we did, as a town, pay particular attention to the conduct of thoſe *dangerous* perſons, is a fact we do not wiſh to conceal." Now the dangerous perſon, who then carried into Pepperell the dangerous practice of quoting ſcripture to defend liberty of conſcience, and of *burying in baptiſm*, was Iſaiah Parker, paſtor of the Baptiſt church in Harvard, who from that day to this is allowed by authority to be a regular miniſter of Jeſus Chriſt, though he is not a State miniſter. Another event, ſtill more dangerous to their way, was as follows.

III. By the unanimous voice of the Warren Aſſociation of September 8, a pamphlet was publiſhed, which ſays, "As the affairs of GOVERNMENT and LIBERTY are the greateſt points of controverſy now in the world, it certainly is of great importance that our ideas be clear and juſt concerning them. Permit us therefore to offer a few thoughts upon a familiar metaphor, which the Holy Ghoſt has uſed to illuſtrate their true nature. In Amos v. 24, he ſays, *let judgment run down as waters, and righteouſneſs as a mighty ſtream.* From whence we may obſerve, 1. That judgment and righteouſneſs are eſſential to freedom. When we would repreſent any thing as quite free, we ſay it is as free as water. And not only the flow of mercy and grace from God to men, but alſo its effects in them, in producing obedience unto him, are often compared thereto in the word of truth. John iv. 14, vii. 38, Titus ii. 11, 12, iii. 5—8. This is moſt certain, becauſe, 2. Freedom is not acting at random, but by

by reaſon and rule. Thoſe who walk after their own luſts, are *clouds without water, carried about by winds*; or *raging waves of the ſea, foaming out their own ſhame*; while the true SONS OF LIBERTY are like ſtreams which *run down* in a clear and ſteady channel. David ſays, *I will run the way of thy commandments, when thou ſhalt enlarge my heart. I will walk at liberty, for I ſeek thy precepts.* Streams and rivers muſt have ſteady channels to run in; but they that *promiſe liberty* while they *deſpiſe government*, are *wells without water, clouds that are carried with a tempeſt.* 2 Peter ii. 10—19. 3. Though tyranny and licentiouſneſs often make a great noiſe, yet government and liberty are much ſtronger than they are. The former, like raging waves, daſh themſelves againſt the rocks, and die upon the ſhore; or like a tempeſt, after making ſad waſte and devaſtation, their ſtrength is gone, and their force is over. While the latter, like a *mighty ſtream*, carry all before them, and never reſt till they can get through or over all obſtacles put in their way. 4. Streams and rivers are of great uſe, and cauſe a conſtant flow of refreſhment and bleſſings wherever they come; ſo does the exerciſe and adminiſtration of judgment and righteouſneſs, among all people that enjoy them. Hence, 5. The command of heaven is, *let them run down:* Put no obſtruction in their way. No, rather be in earneſt to remove every thing that hinders their free courſe. 6. The context plainly ſhews, that a main obſtruction to theſe great bleſſings among the people then ſpoken to, was their aſſuming a power to govern religion, inſtead of being governed by it. True religion is a voluntary obedience unto God. And the great deſign of all ordinances and acts of worſhip towards him, is that thereby we may obtain pardon and cleanſing, with direction

direction and aſſiſtance to behave as we ought towards our fellow men. But inſtead of this, thoſe people added their own inventions to divine inſtitutions, and ſubſtituted their acts of devotion towards God, in the place of a righteous practice towards men; or for a cover to their contrary conduct: And they would fain have been thought very religious, although they turned *judgment into wormwood, hated him that rebuked in the gate, and abhorred him who ſpake uprightly.*

IV. INFINITE wiſdom diſpoſed things in ſuch a manner, as to give a keener edge to this remonſtrance than could be foreſeen by man. For an extract from the laſt election ſermon, and alſo from Chauncy againſt Chandler, was added to the above obſervations, with ſome remarks thereon. At the ſame time our army on Rhode-Iſland ſaw ſuch danger of being ſurrounded by the Britiſh fleet, that they wiſely came off with all their ſtores, in the night after Auguſt 30. Chauncy imagined that this defeat might be turned to miniſterial advantage; and therefore at his next lecture, when many of our rulers were preſent, he delivered a diſcourſe from the ſeventh of Joſhua, wherein he repreſented that one of the *accurſed things* which cauſed that defeat, was their neglect of making a new law to help miniſters about their ſalaries, which the depreciation of our currency had greatly leſſened. This ſermon was ſoon printed and diſperſed in the country. And in the Continental Journal of October 8 it was highly commended, and its author alſo; and then it was ſaid, "Although the General Aſſembly has now been ſitting for ſome time, no motion (as I can learn) has as yet been made, or is likely to be made, for this purpoſe.—Are the clergy then to ſubmit to this treatment? Are they as an order, and the only

only order of men in the community, to remain ſubjected to *injuſtice and fraud!*" Now it was ſo ordered, that the above paſſages in the Baptiſt pamphlet were inſerted in the Independent Chronicle the ſame day, in the ſame ſtreet in Boſton. By which means the ſame author was declaring to the world in one paper, that all religious eſtabliſhments were of infinite damage to the cauſe of God and true religion; and in another, that the want of further exertions in that way was an accurſed thing, which cauſed the defeat of our army. And what could be done in ſuch a caſe? In the Boſton Gazette of November 2 it was declared, that ſaid Baptiſt pamphlet "Exhibited only a compound of *ignorance, impudence and abuſe.*" And their refuſal to comply with miniſterial demands, was declared to be a uſing force againſt them; upon which it was ſaid, "I cannot conceive that it is more proper to uſe force againſt miniſters than for them; yet this is the ſubject from which a ſet of men, who have occaſioned more diſturbance and damage to this State than would be repaired by all the money which ſelling them all for ſlaves would produce, derive their importance." And the ſecular arm was called for to puniſh them. This was ſo far from being obtained, that the paſtor of the firſt Baptiſt church in Boſton was called to preach the election ſermon there, May 26, 1779, in which the difference between church and State was well deſcribed, with the importance of keeping them entirely diſtinct; and it was printed and ſent through the State by order of authority. However our opponents were far from yielding this point.

V. DELEGATES from the ſeveral towns, elected entirely for the purpoſe of framing a new conſtitution of government, met on September 1, and choſe

choſe a large committee to make a draught for their conſideration, and adjourned. When they met again, they took in hand a bill of rights which was laid before them. The third article therein was to give civil rulers power in religious matters, which occaſioned much debate; until a Baptiſt member moved to have that article re-committed. The motion was concurred with, and he was elected the Chairman of a committee of ſeven upon that article. Five of them were great politicians, and they brought in a new draught, which, after warm debates, was paſſed by a majority, November 10, as it now ſtands in our conſtitution. In order to obtain this vote, it was aſſerted that there never was any perſecution in this land; but that what had been ſo called were only juſt puniſhments upon diſorderly perſons, and diſturbers of the public peace. And the Baptiſts were accuſed of ſending their agent to Philadelphia in 1774, with a falſe memorial of grievances, in order to break the union of the Colonies. Sharp debates were cauſed hereby for ſome time; but the firſt volume of our hiſtory was brought in and laid upon the table, which ſilenced the firſt part of thoſe declamations, and their agent being informed of the latter part, publiſhed ſaid third article in the Chronicle of December 2, with reaſons againſt the power claimed in the middle part of it; and then named his accuſers concerning the Philadelphia affair, and charged them with a violation of their promiſe made there; and challenged them to a fair hearing before any proper judges. This was ſo far from being granted, that a long reviling piece, full of glaring deceit, came out in the Chronicle of February 10, 1780; which was ſoon after re-printed in the Providence Gazette,

where the appeal it pretended to anſwer was not known. It accuſed the Baptiſt members of the Convention of *bitterneſs and rage* againſt their miniſters, eſpecially for comparing them to the ſons of Eli; and to prove that they were not worthy of that charge, the writer ſays, "Eli's ſons were not to blame for taking that part of the offerings which the law allowed them, but for the *illegal manner* in which they took it." Very true; and the only cauſe of the bitterneſs and rage now diſcovered againſt the Baptiſts, was their refuſal to countenance ſuch an *illegal* and wicked *manner* of proceeding. An anonymous Baptiſt writer began ſome publications in the Chronicle, againſt the power of taxation claimed in the aboveſaid third article, about the time that the conſtitution was finiſhed. In anſwer to whom a writer appeared in the Continental Journal of March 9, ſaying, "The wicked enemies of our civil and ſacred rights are like the troubled ſea, whoſe waters cannot reſt, but being driven by furious winds are continually caſting up mire and dirt.—There is a certain junto compoſed of diſguiſed tories, Britiſh emiſſaries, profane and licentious Deiſts, avaricious worldlings, diſaffected ſectaries, and furious blind bigots, who had much rather overturn and deſtroy the Commonwealth, than not to have the gratification of their own humour." And he ſubſcribed himſelf *Irenæus, a member of Convention.* The Baptiſt agent and committee met April 6, and publiſhed an appeal to the people of this State, againſt the taxing power for religious teachers claimed in the new conſtitution, then ſent out for their acceptance or rejection. But their opponents were ſo much concerned about it, that no leſs than three different pieces againſt the Baptiſt agent were publiſhed in the Boſton papers

in

in the month of May, to two of which the writers ſubſcribed their names, which had not been done before. One of them was as follows: The firſt part of the third article in our bill of rights ſays, "The happineſs of a people, and the good order and preſervation of civil government, eſſentially depend upon piety, religion and morality, and theſe cannot be generally diffuſed through a community but by the inſtitution of the public worſhip of God, and of public inſtructions in piety, religion and morality;" which part ſaid agent, in his publication of December 2, declared a full concurrence with. Upon which a miniſter of Roxbury, in the Chronicle of May 18, ſaid, "Mr. Backus, by inadvertently *concurring fully* with this part, gave up the whole cauſe for which he was agent." This he endeavoured to prove, by fixing an emphaſis upon the word *eſſentially*, and then obſerving that government *can exiſt* without Chriſtianity. And his evident deſign was to ſink the credit of the agent among his brethren, in order to terminate this controverſy. But the agent anſwered all thoſe three publications in one paper, June 26, when he obſerved, that "No government could ever be eſtabliſhed without appeals to the Deity; the knowledge of whom is as much greater under the goſpel than it is in Pagan countries, as *ſeeing* in day-light is above *feeling* in the night, Mat. v. 14, Acts xvii. 27. And men can have no more RIGHT to *add* to God's laws about his worſhip, and to judge the conſciences of ſuch as refuſe to ſubmit to their *additions*, than they have POWER to cauſe the *day-ſpring to know his place*, Job xxxviii. 12, Luke i. 78. And is not goſpel light eſſentially neceſſary for the *good order* of government, although government *can exiſt* without it!" And notwithſtanding their third article expreſly excludes

cludes all ſubordination of one religious ſect to another, yet he obſerved, that ſince it was paſſed, four Baptiſt brethren had been impriſoned, and a fifth had a cow taken from him, for no other cauſe than a refuſal to acknowledge ſuch ſubordination. Two of them were of Bridgwater, the others were of Lancaſter. Thoſe of Bridgwater were threatened this month with impriſonment for another miniſterial tax; but it was prevented in the following manner. One of them was lieutenant of a company of militia; and, as the public credit was ſunk ſo low as to render it exceeding difficult to raiſe recruits for our army, news came to him that the town had choſen him a member of a ſpecial committee to procure a number of men that were wanted, which news came juſt after the collector had threatened to carry him to gaol for ſaid tax, and prevented it. But a third Baptiſt from Lancaſter was impriſoned at Worceſter, June 26, where two of his brethren had been from April 12, and they were confined there until fall.

VI. YET when the new conſtitution took place, October 25, 1780, it was ſaid, "We may rely that the preſent government will do all it fairly can, by authority and example, to anſwer the end of its inſtitution, that the members of this Commonwealth may *lead a quiet and peaceable life in all* GODLINESS as well as *honeſty*, and our liberty never be juſtly reproached as licentiouſneſs. I know there is diverſity of ſentiment reſpecting the extent of civil power in religious matters. Inſtead of entering into the diſpute, may I be allowed from the warmth of my heart to recommend, where conſcience is pleaded on both ſides, mutual candour and love*." And in the Boſton Gazette of February 5, 1781, it was ſaid,

* Cooper's ſermon, p. 37, 38.

ſaid, "Laſt ſummer, a certain rich man, in the county of Plymouth, altered his principles with regard to baptiſm, was re-baptized, and admitted into Mr. Backus's church in Middleborough. Some neighbours were ſo uncharitable and cenſorious as to imagine that this perſon changed his religion in order to be freed from miniſterial taxes.—However it remained a queſtion in the minds of many people, by what means his eſtate could be exempted legally? inaſmuch as they verily ſuppoſed that Mr. Backus had declared he would give no more certificates to any body whatſoever, always pleading, as they received it, that the practice was contrary to the dictates of his conſcience. Nevertheleſs, contrary to the expectation of every one, our aſſeſſors have been furniſhed with a certificate.—I hope the public will put the moſt favourable conſtruction upon the late remarkable conduct of our agent for a thouſand ſouls; that his laudable example will be punctually imitated by all others of the ſame profeſſion, and thereby finiſh one part of the tedious diſpute which has long ſubſiſted." This paper was left for him three days after, by a noted lawyer, at a houſe he was to preach at in Bridgwater. From thence he went into Boſton, and demanded the name of the writer of that libel. This was refuſed by the printer, though he was ready to publiſh an anſwer to it: An anſwer was therefore left, upon an expreſs promiſe from the printer, that he would not publiſh a reply without the writer's name. Yet this promiſe was violated on March 5, without ſo much as ſending the reply to the agent. He was however ſo unwiſe as to ſend another piece, which was publiſhed May 7, wherein ſome expreſſions were ſo turned, as to caſt the printer's faults upon the public. From hence three or four reviling

ing pieces were publiſhed in the Boſton papers againſt him; in one of which he was threatened with a halter and the gallows.' Yet for all this noiſe, they had no other foundation than a line that was given July 12, 1780, which certified that a man in Pembroke was a baptized member of the firſt Baptiſt church in Middleborough, ſigned only by their paſtor, at a time when no certificate law had been in force for ſome months, and never could be again, according to ſaid third article, which excludes all ſubordination of any one ſect to another. And the line given did not anſwer to any law ever made in this government, from its foundation to this day. It may therefore be proper in this place to give a diſtinct account of what the faith and order of theſe Baptiſt churches are, againſt whom ſuch oppoſition has been made.

VII. In general their faith and practice come the neareſt to that of the firſt planters of New-England, of any churches now in the land, excepting in the ſingle article of ſprinkling infants. In particular they believe, 1. That God ſet Adam as the public head of all mankind; ſo that when he revolted from heaven, and ſeized upon the earth as his own, all the human race fell in him, and all bear his earthly image, until they are born again. 2. That in infinite mercy the eternal Father gave a certain number of the children of men to his beloved Son, before the world was, to redeem and ſave; and that he, by his obedience and ſufferings, has procured eternal redemption for them. 3. That by the influence of the holy Spirit, each of theſe perſons, as they come into exiſtence, are effectually called in time, and ſavingly renewed in the ſpirit of their minds. 4. That their juſtification before God, is wholly by the perfect righteouſneſs

righteouſneſs of Jeſus Chriſt, received by faith. 5. That every ſuch ſoul will be kept by the power of God, through faith unto eternal ſalvation. 6. That, according to God's inſtitution, regenerate ſouls are the only materials for particular Chriſtian churches. 7. That the right way of building ſuch churches is by giving a perſonal verbal account to the church of what God has done for their ſouls, to the ſatisfaction of the church. 8. That the whole power of calling, ordaining and depoſing officers, is in each particular church; although it is ordinarily proper and expedient to call in the advice and aſſiſtance of ſiſter churches upon many ſuch occaſions. 9. That the whole power of governing and diſciplining their members is in each particular church; though advice and counſel from others, in ſome caſes, is becoming and even neceſſary. 10. That the government of the church ſhould be wholly by the laws of Chriſt, enforced in his name, and not at all by the ſecular arm. 11. That goſpel miniſters ought be ſupported by his laws and influence, and not by tax and compulſion enforced by the civil power. 12. That miniſters ought to preach, and not read their ſermons, at leaſt in ordinary times; that being evidently the apoſtolic practice, and the contrary enables men to impoſe upon people, by reading the works of others, and is attended with other evils. 13. That free liberty ought to be allowed for every ſaint to improve his gifts according to the goſpel; and that the church ſhould encourage and recommend ſuch as are qualified for the goſpel miniſtry. 14. That officers, when choſen and ordained, have no arbitrary, lordly or impoſing power; but are to rule and miniſter with the conſent of the brethren, who ought not to be called the *laity*, but to be treated

ed

ed as men and brethren in Chriſt. Theſe are the chief points of faith and order, wherein we differ from others, and for which ſuch reſentment has been ſhewn againſt us. And in this and the former volume of our hiſtory we have clearly proved, that all theſe points were held by the fathers of Plymouth Colony. And Governor Winſlow, one of their firſt planters, informs us that when they parted with Mr. Robinſon, their dear paſtor in Holland, in 1620, he gave them the following advice and ſolemn charge, viz.

VIII. "We are now to part aſunder, and the Lord knoweth whether ever I ſhall live to ſee your faces again: But whether he has appointed it or not, I charge you, before God and his bleſſed angels, to follow me no further than I follow Chriſt. And if God ſhall reveal any thing to you by any other inſtrument of his, be as ready to receive it as ever you were to receive any truth by my miniſtry; for I am very confident that he has more truth and light yet to break forth out of his holy word. He took occaſion alſo miſerably to bewail the ſtate and condition of the reformed churches, who were come to a period in religion, and would go no further than the inſtruments of their reformation. As for example, the Lutherans could not be drawn to go beyond what Luther ſaw; for whatever part of God's will he has further imparted and revealed to Calvin, they will rather die than embrace it. And ſo you ſee the Calviniſts, they ſtick where he left them; a miſery much to be lamented, for though they were precious ſhining lights in their times, yet God had not revealed his whole will to them; and were they now living, they would be as ready to embrace further light as what they had received. Here (ſays Winſlow) he put us in mind of our church

church covenant, whereby we promiſe and covenant with God, and one another, to receive whatſoever light and truth ſhall be made known to us from his written word; but withal exhorted us to take heed what we receive for truth, and well to examine and compare it with other ſcriptures before we received it; for, ſaid he, it is not poſſible the Chriſtian world ſhould come ſo lately out of ſuch thick Antichriſtian darkneſs, and that full perfection of knowledge ſhould break forth at once*." Such were the noble ſentiments and ſolemn charge of Mr. Robinſon, that eminent father of the planters of New-England. To which I ſhall annex a caution he gave, in his preface to a defence of their cauſe ten years before. Says he, "I deſire the Chriſtian reader to take knowledge of this one thing, that as the pretence of zeal in forward miniſters againſt all corruptions is a thick miſt, holding the eyes of many well-minded people from ſeeing the truth, ſo the perſon with whom I now particularly deal truſts to this inſinuation above all others, conveying himſelf under this colour into the hearts of the ſimple, and hereby making way moſt effectually not only for his counſels and advertiſements, for the quenching of their affections towards the truth, but alſo for his idle gueſſes and *likeliboods* (vol. 1, p. 7) with ſuch *perſonal* compariſons and imputations as his book is ſtored with, to alienate mens hearts from it. But the godly reader is to conſider that to *accept perſons in judgment is not good*, eſpecially in the Lord's cauſe; and that his faith is not to be held *in reſpect of perſons*, James ii. 1†." Let this be remembered in our next chapter.

* Winſlow's anſwer to Gorton, p. 97, 98.
† Preface to his anſwer to Bernard, p. 5, 6.

CHAP. XIX.

1. Mayhew againſt the Doctrines of ſovereign Grace. 2. Yet very angry at having his Conduct expoſed. 3. Others treated abuſively. 4. Of the Charge of Separation. 5. Of Baptiſm. 6. Of Miniſters Power. 7. Of univerſal Salvation.

I. DR. Mayhew publiſhed two ſermons, in the beginning of 1763, from thoſe words, *The Lord is good to all, and his tender mercies are over all his works.* From whence, after laying down many juſt obſervations, he endeavours to prove, that the Lord is good to all the different ranks, orders or ſpecies of his intelligent and ſenſitive creatures; and good and kind to *all* the *individuals* of which theſe ſpecies conſiſt. He allows that the terms *all, every*, and the like, are ſometimes uſed in a limited ſenſe in ſcripture, and that there are many places which muſt neceſſarily be ſo underſtood; but denies any limitation here, becauſe God's goodneſs is perfect and infinite, as well as his other perfections. And beginning with a greater number, and coming down to a leſſer, he at laſt comes to the loweſt individual; and if any held that he was not good to that individual, Mayhew ſays, "I think you ſhould paraphraſe the text thus, the Lord is good to all *but one*, and his tender mercies are over all his works, *excepting a ſingle* inſignificant creature, which either eſcapes his notice, or at which he is angry, and

and ſo makes it miſerable, though it neither has nor is capable of offending him." And he goes on to obſerve, that John ſays, *God is* LOVE; and then ſays, "It is worthy of particular remark, that though God is infinitely wiſe and powerful, &c. as well as good, yet he is never ſtiled in ſcripture *wiſdom* or *power* in the abſtract, as he is here ſtiled LOVE. Perfect goodneſs, love itſelf, is his very eſſence, in a peculiar ſenſe; immeaſurable, immutable, univerſal and everlaſting LOVE*." Again ſays he, "Nothing was prior, not even the exiſtence of God, to his *will* to be good.——God is then not only eternally, *neceſſarily* and eſſentially, but infinitely or perfectly good. And if ſo, then equally, univerſally, and immutably good in all times and places." Neceſſity therefore he aſcribes to the will of God, though his party ſtrenuouſly deny that it can be conſiſtent with the liberty of our wills. And he had before aſſerted, "That there is no medium betwixt God's being actually kind and merciful to all, and his being poſitively cruel and unmerciful to ſome†." And to give his ideas of the atonement, he ſays, "Infinite goodneſs itſelf, conſidered in connexion with infinite wiſdom, requires that order, and the higheſt veneration for the majeſty of God, his laws and government, ſhould be preſerved amongſt all his reaſonable creatures. Their own good eſſentially depends upon it. And this important end is *moſt effectually* attained by the ſacrifice of Chriſt, by whom *we have received the atonement*. We are aſſured in the holy ſcriptures, that God forgives the ſins of men through this great ſacrifice intervening, *rather* than without any, not becauſe he is in his own nature deficient in goodneſs, or not perfectly merciful, but becauſe he is infinitely *wiſe* as well as

* Said ſermons, p. 39, 44. † Page 35, 46.

as merciful.——There was a fitneſs and congruity in it, as the wiſeſt and beſt method for ſaving ſinful men, without any kind of reference to that common but yet *ſtrange* ſuppoſition, of divine *juſtice* being entirely diſtinct from divine goodneſs*." It is to be noted, that here he owns that he rejects the *common* ſentiments of our fathers; and ſays he, "I ſeriouſly declare, that if I were to form my conceptions of God's moral character, by ſuch diſcourſes as I have ſometimes heard and read, and ſuch as were, *by many*, thought to be truly *evangelical*, inſtead of thinking him really good to ALL, and his tender mercies over ALL his works, eſſentially good, and infinitely the beſt of beings, I could not but conclude him to be *infinitely* more *unjuſt* and *cruel* than any other being in the univerſe!" And he at length ventures to ſay of infants, "To ſuppoſe that the ſin of Adam and Eve is or can be ſo imputed to them, as to render them *juſtly* liable to eternal miſery, without any offence of their own, is one of the groſſeſt of all abſurdities." And to hold that any of the human race are not choſen in Chriſt to eternal life, is a doctrine which he rejects in the ſame manner; after which he ſays, "If, therefore, my brethren, you know of any particular ſcheme or ſyſtem of Chriſtianity (ſo called) two or three of the moſt diſtinguiſhing and leading principles of which, and the baſis on which the whole reſts, are plainly and certainly repugnant to the doctrine of God's *univerſal* goodneſs, and his tender mercies over all his works; you may be certain that ſuch ſcheme or ſyſtem is falſe; abſolutely and wholly falſe, ſo far as it has any connexion with or dependence upon thoſe principles‡." He allows that there will be a future puniſhment to the wicked, but leaves the words

* Page 64. ‡ Page 50, 62, 63, 83, 85.

words concerning it undefined; and concludes with mentioning, that in the other world the meaning of that paſſage in the Revelation will be more clearly opened than we can conceive of it here, that "*Every creature* which is in *heaven*, and on the *earth*, and *under the earth*, and ſuch as are in the *ſea*, and *all that are in them*, heard I ſaying, bleſſing, and honor, and glory, and power be unto him that ſitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb forever and ever."

II. The reader may now judge, whether this author had not a deſign againſt ſome of the moſt important principles of the Proteſtant reformed ſyſtem of Chriſtianity, as it had long been profeſſed in this and other countries. Yet becauſe Mr. Cleaveland repreſented his ſermons in that light, in his eſſay to defend that ſyſtem, Dr. Mayhew called it "A defamatory libel;" and ſaid to Cleaveland, "Can you poſſibly think it became you, an obſcure perſon from another Province, and one ſo unlettered as you are, an out-caſt from the college to which you was a diſgrace?—Did you not ſhow the utmoſt aſſurance, in thus ſetting up your little ſelf?—Poor, unhappy man! You doubtleſs thought to emerge from your obſcurity, and to appear as a perſon of ſome conſequence, by this vain attempt.—It is as much *beneath me* to play the *critic* on ſuch a performance as yours, as it would be particularly to expoſe the vanity of your criticiſms on my ſermons.—But I will proceed to the main buſineſs of this letter, which is to ſet your *falſhood* and iniquitous proceedings, with reference to my ſermons, in *ſome order before your eyes*; and to adminiſter the reproof and correction which you deſerve, or rather a *part* thereof. For it is only they that hold the *ſword of public juſtice*, that can legally puniſh ſuch wickedneſs to the *extent* of its demerits. Your *villainy* in this affair

affair appears written, as one may ſay, even upon your forehead*." And his whole letter of forty-nine pages is in this ſtrain; which inſtead of univerſal goodneſs, diſcovers how ſuch men would treat their opponents, if their power was equal to their wills. A ſight of theſe things moved the Preſident and Corporation of the college, who expelled Cleaveland, to give him the title of A. M. the ſame year. Yet when Mayhew died two years after, Chauncy reflected upon Cleaveland (as before obſerved, p. 229) and called him an obſcure perſon without reputation. And to this day the perſons of thoſe two men are held in ſuch admiration by multitudes, that they are much ſooner diſturbed at hearing their errors expoſed, than at hearing their MAKER blaſphemed! while they are highly pleaſed with ſeeing eminent miniſters of oppoſite principles treated with a high degree of abuſe and contempt, as appears in what follows.

III. ALL eſtabliſhments of worſhip by human laws, that ever were erected under the Chriſtian name, were built upon calling the covenant in Gen. xvii. the covenant of grace. Yet our excellent Edwards was ſeparated from his dear flock at Northampton, only for inſiſting upon a perſonal profeſſion of ſanctifying grace in order for full communion. (Page 191.) From thence he went and ſettled at Stockbridge, on the weſt borders of our State; where his ſucceſſors have endeavoured to purſue his plan of reformation. A conſiderable number of miniſters, in various parts of the land, have alſo laboured in the ſame cauſe. About the cloſe of 1768, Dr. Joſeph Bellamy publiſhed a ſmall piece upon the half-way covenant; which was ſoon anſwered, and he wrote not leſs than ſix pamphlets upon

* Mayhew's letter of reproof, 1764, p. 4—6.

upon the covenant, to prove that a profeſſion of ſaving faith was a neceſſary term of communion in the church, and of being active in baptiſm. The piece on the oppoſite ſide, mentioned in p. 268, was occaſioned hereby. And within ſix years above twenty pamphlets were written by different parties upon this ſubject, through the country from New-Jerſey to Boſton. The name of a half-way covenant was diſowned by all theſe writers, and their controverſy turned entirely upon the queſtion, whether a profeſſion of ſaving faith ought to be required of communicants, or not? For both parties agreed that none ſhould be active themſelves in baptiſm, but ſuch as had a right to come to the other ordinance; and they were as unable to ſettle this matter as Stoddard and Mather were ſeventy years before. (Page 33, 34.) How to reconcile divine ſovereignty with human liberty, and efficacious grace with the uſe of means for converſion, were alſo queſtions that they had long and tedious debates upon. At length a ſingular act of diſcipline at Stockbridge ſeemed to give the other party an occaſion, and it was eagerly improved, to give them as bad a *thruſt with their horns*, as ever was given by any bulls in Baſhan. It was as follows. Thoſe who have ſeen the nature of original ſin, cannot tell how to keep up the idea of childrens being born in the covenant of grace, without ſome regard to grace in their parents. And in the ſame chapter where the unbelieving conſort is ſaid to be *ſanctified* by the believer, a widow is required to marry *only in the Lord*. Therefore, becauſe a young widow in Stockbridge church married an immoral profane man, in the beginning of 1777, ſhe was cenſured and excluded from their communion. This occaſioned the calling of a Council in Janua-

ry,

ry, 1779, which was adjourned to May, and from thence to October, when they juſtified the church in that act. The man who married ſaid widow was from Connecticut; and he got a learned miniſter from thence to plead his cauſe in the laſt of thoſe Councils, who was ſon to the ruler that ſent a man to priſon forty years ago, for preaching the goſpel. (Page 165.) As his client was not relieved by that Council, he publiſhed his plea for him, which has paſſed through three or four editions. It was anſwered from Stockbridge, upon which he publiſhed a larger piece in 1780, intituled, Letters of friendſhip; which being replied to, he in 1781 gave what he called a gentle reprimand. And in 1782 theſe three pieces were printed in one at Boſton. Their evident deſign was to relieve that woman, to prevent diviſion among their miniſters, and to keep up the uſe of force for their ſupport; all which it is ſaid are accompliſhed thereby. Be that as it may, it is certain that much deceit and cruelty have been uſed in this affair. Many would limit the word perſecution to corporal puniſhments; which is ſo oppoſite to truth, that *reviling* and *mockery* contain a great and *cruel* part of it, Mat. v. 11, Heb. xi. 36. Colonel Gardiner, who was converted ſixty-five years ago, declared that "He would much rather have marched up to a battery of the enemy's cannon, than have been obliged ſo continually as he was to face ſuch artillery as this*." Yet in order to carry his point, this advocate advanced a parable of a church who refuſed to allow a brother therein to marry a woman he dearly loved, becauſe not a gracious perſon; and adviſed him to marry a member of theirs that was found in the faith, which is moſt ſhockingly deſcribed; and then ſaying of her perſon,

* Gardiner's life, p. 35.

perſon, "As to ſome trifles, which a carnal man would object to, it becomes you, as a ſpiritual man, to make no objection. It is true, ſhe is of a mean family, and a very weak underſtanding; ſhe is peeviſh and fretful to the higheſt degree; her ſhape is ſemicircular; ſhe is what the world calls monſtrous ugly; every feature is adapted to mortify carnal deſires, which is much better than to have them gratified; ſhe is the queen of ſluts, and without any polite education. But ſhe has grace, SAVING GRACE; ſhe is regenerated; let your grace wed with hers, and a *ſweet bride* ſhe will be. Moreover, *ſhe is paſt the flower of her age*, and we ſuppoſe *need ſo requires**." Now is it poſſible to dreſs up a church and ſcripture phraſes in a more odious and ſcandalous manner than is here done! Yet in his reprimand, which he calls gentle, he inſinuates that for any to be offended at it argues guilt; becauſe, ſays he, "It was expreſly declared that it is to be applied only as *truth* applies it." But when we look into his plea, we find him ſaying, "Let the following parable apply where it *will* apply†." Truth cannot apply it to any church upon earth; but his *will* has publiſhed the names of thirteen miniſters in that plea, more worthy than himſelf, for the world to laugh at as much as they *will*. And this is doubtleſs the chief reaſon of its circulating ſo extenſively. But how mean and ſpiteful is it to treat the word grace in this manner! Affixing the word to the covenant of circumciſion, where God never put it, is the ſource of that difficulty at Stockbridge. The words *ſanctified* and *holy*, in 1 Cor. vii. 14, are both of a kind, and the latter the effect of the former; and their meaning may be aſcertained by 1 Tim. iv. 5. But if we muſt go to the law for the mean-

* Plea, p. 29. † Plea, p. 27, Reprimand, p. 15.

ing of the word holy there, the ſame word in the law is given as the reaſon why they ſhould not marry with unholy perſons, Deut. vii. 3, 6. Every ſoul therefore will be ſelf-condemned that affixes the name grace to the covenant of circumciſion, and at the ſame time cenſures the church at Stockbridge for attempting to act conſiſtently upon it.

IV. His ſecond pamphlet is directed to miniſters who had eſſayed to withdraw from the major party in the country; to whom he applies the apoſtolic warning, *beware of dogs, beware of the conciſion*: Which warning was levelled againſt thoſe who held to the covenant of circumciſion after it was out of date, and could not bear to quit all *confidence in the fleſh*, Phil. iii. 2, 3. The General Aſſociation of miniſters in Connecticut, June 3, 1780, ſtated the nature of thoſe miniſters crime in theſe words, viz. "Refuſing intercourſe of miniſterial labours, and to receive our members, on recommendation from the paſtors and churches to which they belonged, to their communion, without a particular and perſonal examination*." But in the Boſton edition this paſſage is left out; and ſome miniſters are accuſed of renouncing communion with others, in conſequence of that affair at Stockbridge. Such deceit are men guilty of! And it is aſſerted, that "The churches in New-England are generally *full as ſtrict* in their practice, as the church at Stockbridge, and require *full* as much religion in the profeſſion, life, and converſation of the candidate." And the miniſter of Lebanon (mentioned in p. 191) is referred to as an example thereof†. Yet he was a man who held tenaciouſly that the field where ſaints and the viſible children of the wicked one are ordered to *grow together*, intends the viſible church; which an excellent

* Letters of friendſhip, p. 133. † Ibid. 62, 115.

excellent writer ſays gave others occaſion to reflect, "That thoſe churches whoſe practice is agreeable to his looſe principles, do that at noon-day, in the preſence of God, angels and men, which the devil did in the night, while men ſlept*!" It is alſo to be obſerved, that a member of the church in Stockbridge detected ſaid advocate in ſeveral violations of truth, as to matters of fact there. But inſtead of any honeſt retraction, he ſaid of that member, "Where he is known, he can perhaps hurt no man's character, either with his tongue or pen; and it is a queſtion whether, at this period of time, he can hurt his own." And again, "He has exerted himſelf with all his might, to ſuppreſs the goſpel miniſtry in this land, labouring among other efforts to remove the *only* probable means for the ſupport of it†." That is, the man he points to, being of the Convention who formed our new conſtitution, laboured to exclude the uſe of violence from it in ſupporting religious teachers. And his character was ſuch as to be freely choſen one of the Maſſachuſetts Senators in May, 1781. How then did his opponent *deſpiſe government?*

V. Mr. Locke long ſince obſerved, that learned diſputants often act as deceitfully about the main *words* of their controverſy as a trader would do if he took the figure 8, and called it ſometimes ſeven and ſometimes nine, as would ſuit his advantage. And how much was that the caſe in this diſpute! The moſt puzzling argument of the advocate for the profane man, was declaring that by baptiſm he was in the church, and ought to have been diſciplined, rather than his wife for marrying of him. And in 1783 the ſame author publiſhed an addreſs to the Baptiſts,

* Edwards's reply to Williams, p. 103.
† Letters of friendſhip, p. 128. Reprimand, p. 13.

Baptiſts, wherein he repreſents the covenant of circumciſion to be ſuch an ample charter of church privileges, that it would even have been an impeachment of the ſacred character, or reflexion upon the perfections of God, to expect an expreſs deſcription of who were the ſubjects of baptiſm in the new teſtament. Now it is certain that every man in Iſrael who ſhould *forbear* to keep the paſſover as it was inſtituted, muſt be *cut off from his people*, Numb. ix. 13. And if the covenant is the ſame now, every perſon among their churches who has been ſprinkled in infancy muſt come to the ordinance of the ſupper, or be excommunicated, be he converted or unconverted, moral or profane. Yet the aboveſaid pleader has the effrontery to ſay to his opponents, "You tell us, gentlemen, that ſome of us do not agree with you, in our notions of the terms of church communion, or admiſſion of church members.—But—no mortal knows, or can know, who has grace or who has not.—Let us ſpeculate and diſpute as long as we pleaſe, we muſt practiſe alike, or we cannot practiſe at all*." But if many are in darkneſs, and know not where they are going, does that prove that others have no true light? And if they love darkneſs rather than light, can their evils make void the word of Chriſt? who ſays, *he that doth truth, cometh to the light, that his deeds may be made manifeſt, that they are wrought in God*; and alſo ſays, *every tree is known by his own fruit:——A good man, out of the good treaſure of his heart, bringeth forth that which is good; and an evil man, out of the evil treaſure of his heart, bringeth forth that which is evil; for of the abundance of the heart his mouth ſpeaketh.* And the way wherein *greedy dogs* are to be known, who can *never have enough*, is that they

* Letters of friendſhip, p. 20.

they all look to their own way, every one for his gain, from his quarter. They *bite with their teeth, and cry, peace; and he that putteth not into their mouths, they even prepare war againſt him.*——*Yet will they lean upon the Lord, and ſay, is not the Lord among us? None evil can come upon us.* This is their learning, their logic; from a negative propoſition they form a poſitive concluſion. They are in covenant with death, and agreement with hell, and from thence think to ſecure themſelves; and they *ſcornfully* ſlight all warnings of future danger. But the time is haſtening when their *bed* will be too ſhort for them, and their *covering* too narrow; and it will be *a vexation only to underſtand the report of the goſpel*, Iſai. xxviii. 14—20. Rom. x. 16. Union and communion with God, who is LIGHT and LOVE, was the life of man at firſt; and a revolt from him, into *darkneſs and diſorder*, was *death*, the penalty of the law. And the character of hell is *lying* and *murder*, John viii. 44. Therefore I conclude, that the known uſe of *deceit* and *cruelty* is the covenant with death and agreement with hell, wherewith ſcornful officers have often thought to ſecure themſelves againſt preſent and future dangers. This I take to be a ſcriptural glaſs, and return our opponents compliment upon it. Says he, "Why do the letters of friendſhip offend them, ſince it is ſo expreſly premiſed that no perſon is pointed at in them unleſs juſtly characterized? If my face is dirty and not fit to be ſeen, I waſh it, and never quarrel with my glaſs about it*." And ſince his zeal has been ſo great for the relief of one cenſured woman, let him appear for another nearer home. For a woman of good character, in the head county of his own State, was cenſured in 1781, and excommunicated

* Reprimand, p. 15.

cated in 1783, by a miniſter who is a fellow of Yale college, for no other crime than refraining from coming to the Lord's table with ſuch as hold the Lord's ſupper to be a converting ordinance.

VI. THIS may lead us to take a further view of their claims of power over the churches. About twenty years ago, a miniſter who was a fellow of Yale college publiſhed a pamphlet to prove that the power of ordination is inherent in miniſters, and that Chriſt never gave that power to the church as a body. This he dedicated to their Governor; and he therein allowed that the people have a right to chooſe their miniſters, but not to ordain them, any more than the freemen of Connecticut have to ſwear their magiſtrates into office. An anſwer was wrote to him, and he made a reply in 1766. But then both his patron and his compariſon failed him, becauſe his Governor and ſeveral magiſtrates were left out of office by the people, for favouring the ſtamp-act. And what could he then do? He ſlipt over the line, and ſaid, "The Governor of a Province is, by the King's commiſſion, inveſted with power and authority as ſuch an officer, diſtinct from the rights, powers and privileges, belonging to the government, by the conſtitution, charter, and laws of the land. And though the magiſtracy, and other officers, and the Houſe of Repreſentatives, have a legiſlative and executive authority with him, under his precedency, and act with him in judgment, in many caſes; yet are theſe diſtinct branches of authority, originating from different fountains of power: The former from ſpecial commiſſion from the King, the other from the conſtitution and laws of the government. I take the caſe to be *much parallel* in eccleſiaſtical govern-

government*." And we have ſhewn (p. 275) that the Maſſachuſetts miniſters claimed a higher power than the King allowed to his Governor; and he was the head of their eſtabliſhments for worſhip, both there and in Connecticut. (Page 78, 178.) Therefore they are now in a deplorable caſe; for an ocean three thouſand miles wide rolls betwixt the head and the body of that conſtitution, ſo that they have only a dead polluted *carcaſe* left *in their high places*, Ezek. xliii. 7. And thoſe who have ſo often rejected the reaſonable teſtimonies and petitions of the Baptiſts, are forced now to become ſuppliants to them, in order to ſave their polluted ſcheme. In a Boſton paper, before mentioned, of February 5, 1781, they tell a ſtory of a gentleman's babe, that was taken by an ape and carried to the roof of the houſe, while he and his family were at church, and a careleſs maid got to ſleep; and yet that the babe was ſaved by their prayers. Upon which they name the Baptiſt agent, whom they accuſe of doing the like with their religion; but expreſſed their hopes of having it now returned into its former condition. But herein they appear more contemptible than the prieſts of Baal did in Elijah's time; for they came out like men, and performed their devotion in the ſight of the people, while theſe only publiſhed their prayers in news-papers, and were afraid that their names ſhould be known. And the babe they pray for is not a human creature, but a monſter, begotten upon a whore; and great *happineſs* is promiſed to thoſe who ſhall *daſh ſuch little ones againſt the ſtones*, Pſalm cxxxvii. 8, 9. And the Baptiſts not only covet ſuch happineſs, but obedience to government requires it of them. For all Proteſtant kingdoms have ſet up their King as head of the

* Beckwith's ſecond letter againſt lay-ordinations, p. 42, 43.

the church; but that name is now excluded from our Legiſlature. And to move the people to receive this conſtitution, the compilers of it ſaid to them, "Your delegates did not conceive themſelves veſted with power to ſet up one denomination of Chriſtians above another; for religion muſt at all times be a matter between God and individuals*." And no man can take a ſeat in our Legiſlature until he ſolemnly declares, "I believe the Chriſtian religion, and have a firm perſuaſion of its truth‡." And as ſurely as it is true, Chriſt is HEAD *of all principality and power*, and the church is COMPLEAT in him; and required to do all her acts in *his name*. Therefore all worſhip that is ſupported in any other name is only *will-worſhip*, Col. ii. 9, 10, 23, iii. 17. And though recourſe has often been had to Germany, for matter to prejudice people againſt equal liberty and believers baptiſm, yet twenty thouſand mercenaries have lately been brought from thence to fight againſt ſuch principles, and to deluge our land with blood; againſt whom no denomination in America have acted with more prudence and vigour than the Baptiſts. In the fall of 1778, our Legiſlature paſſed an act to debar inimical perſons from returning into this State, wherein three hundred and eleven men were named as ſuch; and our enemies are welcome to point out one Baptiſt among them if they can. Yet our opponents are ſtill ſo unwilling to allow equal liberty, and that the power of church government ſhould be in the body of each community, that a pamphlet was publiſhed at Boſton againſt it, near the cloſe of 1783, wherein it is ſaid, "If the power of diſmiſſing its paſtors is determined to be lodged in the church,

* Addreſs before the conſtitution, March 2, 1780, p. 17.
‡ Conſtitution, chap. vi.

church, without the intervention of any indifferent perſons, the clergy of New-England are of all men the moſt miſerable¶!" This author was an active member of the Convention who formed our new conſtitution, but they are now enſnared in the work of their own hands; and to move others to relieve them he ſays, "The world produces not a ſet of miniſters more holy in their lives, more free from immorality of every kind, more pure in their doctrines, or more ingenious, animated and pathetic in their addreſſes, than the clergy of New-England.—The obſervation hath often been made, that it is natural to the clergy to be fond of power. Without diſpute they are ſo, for they are men, and ſubject to the ſame feelings and inclinations with others. But in New-England, let them have felt ever ſo much of this inclination, they have not diſcovered it. Where is the man who can point out the inſtance, where the miniſtry have attempted to encroach upon the rights of the churches§?" Such attempts have been ſo openly diſcovered, that at preſent I ſhall only point the reader to his now doing of it, in the name clergy he ſo often aſſumes. It is derived from the word that is tranſlated *heritage*, in 1 Pet. v. 3, which name has long been uſurped by miniſters, in order to avoid the ſcandal of *lording* it over the church. And the following facts may diſcover his vanity in boaſting of their general purity as to doctrine.

VII. All Mayhew's arguments againſt the doctrines of ſovereign grace, pointed directly to univerſal ſalvation, though the minds of the people were not then prepared to receive it. But an artful teacher from Britain, who by the way of New-York came into New-England in 1772, by deceit-

¶ Thatcher's obſervations, p. 11. § Ibid. p. 5.

ful addreſſes to the paſſions of its inhabitants, and procuring an edition of Relly upon Union at Boſton in 1779, and another at Providence in 1782, prepared the way for the miniſters of the county to diſcover themſelves. And in Auguſt, 1782, a pamphlet was publiſhed in Boſton, which ſoon paſſed a ſecond edition, entituled, *Salvation for all men.* Dr. Chauncy, undoubtedly, had a chief hand therein, and moſt of the miniſters in Boſton ſeemed to favour the ſcheme, and others continue in fellowſhip with thoſe who have openly owned it. Their main arguments turn upon extending the divine goodneſs to every individual, and Chriſt's merits alſo; although they do not attempt to tell how long it will be before all come to enjoy the ſame. They ſay, "There will be a great deal to be done, after the ſecond coming of Chriſt.—Indeed (ſay they) the doctrine of PURGATORY, as now taught by the Papiſts, ſeems to be a corruption of a genuine doctrine held by the ancient fathers, concerning the *fire of hell*, which will *burn up ſin and luſt**." But we do not hear of any yet who have ventured to aſſert with Origen, that Chriſt will be crucified in the next world to ſave the devils. Several valuable pamphlets have been wrote againſt theſe deluſions, but thoſe miniſters are ſtill held in fellowſhip. Though Dr. Chauncy himſelf ſays, "I am clearly of the mind, that a viſibly wicked miniſter is the greateſt ſcandal to religion, and plague to the church of God; nor is it a hurt, but a real ſervice to the cauſe of Chriſt, to expoſe the characters of ſuch, and leſſen their power to do miſchief†." And again he ſays, "The religion of Jeſus has ſuffered more from the exerciſe of this pretended right [to make religious

* Said pamphlet, p. 14, 21.

† Chauncy's thoughts, 1743, p. 141.

religious eſtabliſhments] than from all other cauſes put together; and it is with me paſt all doubt, that it will never be reſtored to its primitive purity, ſimplicity and glory, until religious eſtabliſhments are ſo brought down as to be no more*."

CHAP. XX.

1. Unjuſt Conceptions concerning Liberty of Will. 2. The Nature thereof expoſed. 3. Bloody Effects of it from afar. 4. And alſo among ourſelves. 5. The ill Effects of it in the Churches. 6. Regeneration the only effectual Remedy againſt it. 7. Addreſs of the Baptiſts concerning the Return of Peace.

I. WHEN we have conceived an ill opinion of any denomination, it is exceeding difficult to treat them fairly. An inſtance hereof is before me, that may be proper to mention. Edwards's treatiſe on the will has paſſed through one edition at Boſton, and two or more in London, without ever being anſwered, although it is levelled directly againſt the turning point of Arminianiſm, to which the opinion of univerſal ſalvation naturally ſucceeds. Many who do not own either of thoſe names, yet have conceived a ſtrong prejudice againſt Calviniſm, which Edwards profeſſed to own, though not

* Reply to Chandler, 1770, p. 144.

not every opinion that Calvin advanced. A late learned performance from London, re-printed at Philadelphia in 1783, contains the following things. The author, when giving his own deliberate ideas, ſays, "The viſible world demonſtrates, it was made by an omnipotent power, and is preſerved by the ſame power. What doth not neceſſarily exiſt, muſt be originally created, and continually upheld by the power that made it.—There is no medium betwixt ſelf-exiſtence and dependence on its cauſe; therefore a ceſſation from it of the power that made it is annihilation to it. Thus as all created things were made, and ſtill ſubſiſt ſolely by the energy of the Creator's *will* and power, he muſt neceſſarily, whilſt they exiſt, be omnipreſent with them, in them, and through them; therefore cannot be ignorant of any thing relating to them, nor unconcerned about them, or any part of them*." If ſo, then the creature can do no act but what his Creator ſees cauſe either to order or permit, which is the eſſence of Calviniſm. No, ſays this author, "We attribute the whole of man's ſalvation to the light or grace within, firſt and laſt, without at all placing man's deſtruction to the account of his Maker, which John Calvin directly doth." And after attempts to prove this charge from ancient writings, he tries to confirm it from Edwards on the will. And in reference to his main point, he ſays, "We are told, *the will is always determined by the ſtrongeſt motive*. Has the will no liberty then at any time? Is it always ſo *forcibly* determined, in all its motions, by circumſtances and motives ſucceſſively ariſing upon it, from the original conſtitution of things, that every man is neceſſarily obliged to think, ſpeak and act, juſt as he doth?—Was this

* Phipps againſt Newton, p. 37, 38.

this really the caſe, our *inevitable* acts would certainly render us no proper ſubjects of reward and puniſhment; of come, ye bleſſed, or go, ye curſed. We muſt be equally unintitled to approbation and cenſure*." But I muſt tell him and all his friends, that I am much better acquainted with Edwards's writings than they are, and I abſolutely know that the ideas naturally ariſing from the words *forcibly* and *inevitable*, as here uſed, when charged upon Edwards, are entirely unjuſt and abuſive. And it tends to raiſe an evil temper in thoſe who read the ſame, againſt all the friends of Edwards's writings, of whom I am heartily one. I am certain that the author who has thus cenſured him, is not a greater friend to the full liberty of the human will, and againſt every idea of poſitive influence from God to reſtrain men from good, or to impel them to evil, than Edwards was. And I know that from my inmoſt thoughts I abhor and deteſt every thing of that nature, and challenge all the ſons of men to prove the contrary if they can. Whether ſaid author will like the following deſcription of liberty is uncertain. In a Boſton paper of June 21, 1784, we are informed, that a new book of Dr. Chauncy's is now in the preſs, which gives a view of man, "As an *intelligent moral agent*; having within himſelf an *ability* and *freedom* to WILL, as well as to *do*, in oppoſition to NECESSITY from any extraneous cauſe whatever."

II. THIS perfectly agrees with that diſregard to God, and to equal liberty among the common people, which has lately been ſo conſpicuous in that metropolis. Perhaps a text could not be found more ſuitable to have preached upon, at the commencement of our new conſtitution, than the following:

* Ibid. p. 86, 97, 98.

lowing: "Their children alſo ſhall be as aforetime, and *their congregation ſhall be eſtabliſhed before me*, and I will puniſh all that oppreſs them. *And their nobles ſhall be of themſelves, and their Governor ſhall proceed from the midſt of them*, and I will cauſe him to draw near, and he ſhall approach unto me; for who is this that engaged his heart to approach unto me? ſaith the Lord." Jer. xxx. 20, 21. But a noted miniſter of Boſton took out the words here printed in *Italic*, and not the reſt, for the ſubject of his ſermon at that time; in which he told of conſcience being pleaded on both ſides of the queſtion about religious liberty. And the two ſides are exactly theſe. The Baptiſts pleaded that Chriſt's miniſters might be ſupported only by his laws and influence: Their opponents pleaded ſtill to be called by his name, but that they could not in conſcience give up the uſe of ſecular force to ſupport them. The Baptiſts never aſked for any greater liberty in this reſpect in the country than Boſton has long enjoyed: Their opponents plead conſcience for denying it to them, which doubtleſs is ſuppoſing that *gain is godlineſs*, and from ſuch we are commanded to withdraw. The miniſter of Chelſea, who in 1778 defied our Legiſlature to preſerve order in the State, if they allowed equal liberty in the church, was received a member of that Aſſembly in 1783, to tax others, while he pays none himſelf. But who can wonder at their treating the people thus, ſince their treatment of their Maker is ſo flagrant! Claim his promiſes without regarding his precepts, which is the practice the *tempter* would have drawn our Saviour into, Mat. iv. 6, 7. But greater abſurdity and blaſphemy can ſcarcely be conceived of, than to claim God's promiſes to ſupport us in diſobedience to his precepts, and to deny his right to govern

govern our wills, further than we pleaſe. His authority and commands are certainly a cauſe *without us*; but we have already ſeen that the above writer thought them *too ſevere* even for Adam in innocency, and that *grace* gives an exemption from that ſeverity. (Page 229, 230.) But I have ſeen a record concerning one, who was as zealous for *confidence in the fleſh* as theſe late diſputants are, and had as fair a claim to it as any of them, who at length was made to know that ſaid law was *holy, juſt, and good*; that it was *ſcriptural*, but he a *carnal ſlave to ſin*, inſtead of having ſuch high dignity and liberty as he before imagined he had. And NECESSITY brought him moſt *freely* to preach the faith that he before endeavoured to deſtroy, 1 Cor. ix. 16. Gal. i. 16, 23. And any perſon in the world can as ſoon ceaſe to exiſt, as ceaſe to deſire happineſs, and to eſcape miſery. A falſe imagination of *good* in the forbidden fruit, drew our firſt parents into rebellion againſt God; and ſuch imaginations are the only ſource of ſin in all their children, James i. 14, 15. *Good* is ſtill their purſuit, but they have loſt the knowledge of who can give it, or what it is; but the regenerate ſoul knows both, and this is the preciſe difference between them, Pſalm iv. 6, 7. Who does not know that debtors and criminals are not fit judges in their own cauſes? yet that is the caſe with all reaſoners againſt the truth and perfection of God's written word. How would wrong judgment proceed in civil Courts, if the Judges or jurors were allowed to conſtrue laws according to a rule *within them*, inſtead of a fixed known ſtandard! If we believe the word of truth, a moſt obſtinate tyrant, a moſt hardened wretch, yet *gladly* ſent Iſrael away with rich treaſures, the ſame night which God had told Abraham

Abraham of four hundred and thirty years before. Exod. xii. 33, 40, Pſalm cv. 37, 38. Which turn of his will and choice was by a cauſe *without him*, which brought him to act voluntarily and exactly according to a previous immutable decree, and that without giving any renewing grace to his ſoul. But as ſoon as death was out of view, he eagerly purſued Iſrael into the Red Sea, where he and his army periſhed. And none but infidels will pretend to deny the juſtice of God in that deſtruction, although it was he that exactly diſpoſed all the circumſtances which moved Pharoah voluntarily to act as he did. And the goſpel refers to this inſtance, to ſhew how, by *much long-ſuffering, veſſels of wrath are fitted to deſtruction*, according to the ſovereign *will of God*. Rom. ix. 17, 18, 22. And thoſe who will not believe him here, will in vain cry for mercy hereafter. Thoſe who are effectually *drawn* to Chriſt by *divine teaching*, know that they *could not* have come without it, nor avoid coming moſt freely with it. John vi. 44, 45. And to hear many *ſpeaking evil of things which they know not; but what they know naturally as brute beaſts, and in thoſe things to corrupt themſelves*: To ſee them *tread down the good paſtures, and foul the deep waters*, and *thruſt others with ſide and ſhoulder*, ſerves to confirm believers in the truth of revelation, and in the hope of a ſpeedy deliverance from ſuch *evil beaſts*, Jude x. Ezek. xxxiv. 18—25. As the wages of ſin is death, God cannot be juſt in paying the ſame to infants, but upon his right to conſtitute Adam as their head to act for them, and dealing with them as ſinners in him; for juſtice cannot pay wages where they are not due. And as Chriſt came into the world purely to ſave ſinners, infants could have no part in his ſalvation,

tion, if they were not ſinners. That infants may partake of that ſalvation, even in their mothers womb, is certain, Luke i. 44. And it is as certain, that though the firſt Adam was a figure of the ſecond in ſome things, yet that he was not ſo in others; and in none more plainly than theſe three, viz. the one brought death, the other life; the one by a judicial ſentence of law, the other by a free gift of grace; the one by a ſingle offence ruined the world, the other atoned for *many offences*, and will finally bring forth a much more glorious world than that which Adam deſtroyed. I conceive that theſe ideas, both of the reſemblance and the difference betwixt the two public heads of mankind, are plainly contained in the fifth of the Romans, and fifteenth of the firſt to the Corinthians. Yet how many are there who will have it, that Chriſt died equally for all the human race, and yet that he ſaves but a part of them, becauſe their wills defeat his good deſires and intentions? To theſe others have ſucceeded, who aſſert that he died for every one of them, and will finally bring them all to happineſs, though not until many of them have been in hell-flames for thouſands of years, to burn up their corruptions. But I boldly declare I would as ſoon worſhip the Pagan god of flies, as any imaginary ſaviour that could poſſibly be miſtaken or diſappointed in any of his deſigns. I fully believe that God's plan of government was and is infinitely perfect. That it is calculated ſo in infinite wiſdom, that all his diſpenſations ſhall demonſtrate to all intelligent creatures, that all deſirable good is to be enjoyed in obedience to his revealed will, and nowhere elſe; but that diſobedience thereto is infinitely hateful and dreadful, how pleaſing ſoever it may appear at firſt. That he gives ſinners opportunity to try their in-

ventions to the utmoſt extent of them, moſt plainly warning them of their danger in the mean time; and that examples of their defeat, and of juſt puniſhments, inflicted upon the impenitent, will be viſible to the bleſſed, and cauſe high praiſes to him *forever and ever*; which words are equally made uſe of to deſcribe the continuance of his glories, the happineſs of the ſaints, and the miſery of the wicked, Rev. v. 13, xiv. 9—11, xix. 3, xx. 10, xxii. 5. And as it was the old ſerpent that poiſoned our firſt parents, by ſetting up reaſon againſt revelation, eſpecially in calling in queſtion the truth of the penalty of the law, ſo the ſame poiſon is exceeding viſible and pernicious among their children at this day.

III. It is moſt certain that the reformation in the church of England, which took place in the days of Edward the ſixth, was produced by preaching the doctrines of original ſin, juſtification by faith in Chriſt's imputed righteouſneſs, and his ſovereign and efficacious grace upon the ſouls of men, to their eternal ſalvation. And it is as certain that a departure from theſe doctrines has been growing upon that church ever ſince. Taylor againſt original ſin, though he was a diſſenter, yet was brought into the eaſt part of Connecticut by an itinerant miſſionary of the church of England above forty years ago; and it has had an extenſive circulation through this country. Many of other denominations were pleaſed with it, while they tried hard to perſuade the world that Whitefield was a diſhoneſt man, and upon evil deſigns againſt this country, when he preached the goſpel according to the doctrines eſtabliſhed by law, both in Old-England and New. (Page 171.) Ten years after, a profeſſor of Harvard college tried to fix that odium upon his character

racter in the minds of his pupils; and at the ſame time denied the liberty of goſpel miniſters to preach in any pariſh where another was ſettled, without his licence*. And if facts are fairly examined, will it not be found, that thoſe in our day, who have been moſt fierce for taxing others where they are not repreſented, yet are not willing to own that their Maker had a right to conſtitute Adam as their repreſentative? In 1628 a charter was granted to the Maſſachuſetts from the Britiſh Court, which exempted this Colony from all taxes thereto, but only the fifth part of the gold and ſilver ore that ſhould be found in it; and it gave the Colony the excluſive right to chooſe their own Governors. But in 1684 theſe privileges were wreſted from them, and their lands were all claimed by the crown, and great tyranny was here exerciſed for ſome years, until the King was driven from his throne, and another was placed thereon by compact. He gave us a new charter of many privileges, but reſerved a power to tax our trade, and an arbitrary power in the crown to appoint our Governors, and to demand our property for their ſupport. And as thoſe who *turn every one to his own way can never have enough*, the remainder of our charter privileges were taken away in 1774, and fleets and armies were ſent to compel this country into an unlimited ſubmiſſion to the *wills* of the Britiſh Parliament. And after many terrible frowns of providence upon their unmerciful proceedings, a ſpeech from the Britiſh throne of November 2, 1780, ſaid, "The preſent arduous ſituation of public affairs is well known; the whole force and faculties of the monarchies of France and Spain are drawn forth, and exerted to the utmoſt, to

* Wiggleſworth's lectures concerning miniſters power, 1754, p. 14—16.

to ſupport the rebellion of my Colonies in North-America, and, without the leaſt provocation or cauſe of complaint, to attack my dominions; and the undiſguiſed object of this confederacy manifeſtly is to gratify BOUNDLESS AMBITION, by deſtroying the commerce, and giving a fatal blow to the POWER of Great-Britain. By the force which the late Parliament put into my hands, and by the bleſſing of providence on the bravery of my fleets and armies, I have been enabled to withſtand the formidable attempts of my enemies, and to fruſtrate the great expectations they had formed; and the ſignal ſucceſſes which have attended the progreſs of my arms in the Provinces of Georgia and Carolina, gained with ſo much honor to the conduct and courage of my officers, and to the valour and intrepidity of my troops, which have equalled their higheſt character in any age, will I truſt have important conſequences in bringing the war to a happy concluſion. It is my moſt earneſt deſire to ſee this great end accompliſhed; but I am confident you will agree with me in opinion, that we can only ſecure ſafe and honorable terms of peace by ſuch powerful and reſpectable preparations, as ſhall convince our enemies, that WE WILL NOT SUBMIT TO RECEIVE THE LAW FROM ANY POWER WHATSOEVER." Lord Cornwallis was one of his moſt ſucceſsful officers in Carolina, who there gave orders, on Auguſt 30, 1780, "That every militia man, who had borne arms with us, and afterwards joined the enemy, ſhall be immediately hanged." Yet on December 30 General Clinton and Admiral Arbuthnot, as Commiſſioners from the King for reſtoring peace to the Colonies, gave out a declaration from New-York, "That Great-Britain had manifeſted the ſincerity of her affectionate and conciliatory intentions, in removing

moving forever your pretended grounds of diſcontent, by repealing among other ſtatutes thoſe relating to the duty on tea, and the alterations in the government of Maſſachuſetts-Bay, and exempting forever not only the continental but the inſular Colonies from parliamentary taxations;" and ſo invited all or any of "The Colonies in rebellion" to come in and receive pardon and peace. And before they had got through they ſaid, "The *loyal* are exhorted to perſevere in *their* integrity for the preſervation of their country, its religion and liberties." And *this* declaration arrived and was publiſhed in Boſton juſt before the King's ſpeech, which expreſſed a reſolution not to receive law from any power whatſoever, not even excepting the power of heaven. And how much better were the wills of men in this land?

IV. For ſix months after the war began the general welfare of the country was kept ſo much in view, that men enough were eaſily obtained to fill up our army, which was alſo plentifully ſupplied with proviſions. But a committee from the ſouthward met at the camp in or near Cambridge, in October, 1775, to ſettle the affairs of the next campaign, who raiſed the wages of officers, and lowered thoſe of the private ſoldiers, which directly cauſed an uneaſineſs; and a looking to private intereſt, both in and out of the army, gradually prevailed from that time, until in the fall of 1780 it procured a promiſe of half-pay to officers during life. And juſt before the news of peace arrived, this ſelfiſhneſs aroſe ſo high in the officers, as to appoint a public meeting in the camp at Weſt-Point in the beginning of March, 1783 (without leave from General Waſhington, who was there) to conſult about either marching in arms to Philadelphia, and compelling

the

the Congreſs to grant their deſires, or elſe drawing off into the wilderneſs, and leaving the country defenceleſs to the ravages of the enemy. And though, with a wiſe and maſterly addreſs, General Waſhington prevented their taking either of thoſe horrid ſteps, yet none can tell how much influence theſe contrivances had, to produce a vote in Congreſs for five years whole-pay, in lieu of the half-pay during life. And though the war was levelled againſt hereditary claims of power over others, and to ſecure equity among all the inhabitants, and the articles of union and confederation between theſe States expreſly forbid their granting any titles of nobility, yet in May following thoſe officers preſumed to incorporate a ſociety among themſelves, to have an hereditary ſucceſſion, and each a golden medal and blue ribbon, with a large fund of money at command, and power to elect our chief rulers into their ſociety. This diſcovered their diſpoſitions, whatever alterations may have been made in their ſociety ſince.

V. The above proceedings have cauſed unſpeakable difficulties through theſe States, which have been loudly complained of by multitudes, who ſtill are bewitched with the opinion, that they are born in a like covenant as the ſeed of Abraham were, which gave them a right to make ſervants of others who were not in that covenant. Yea, and alſo with the opinion that civil Legiſlatures have a right to empower ſome men to covenant for others with religious teachers, and to compel them to fulfil it. And this practice (which is directly againſt the law of God even as it was given to the Jews) was at the commencement of our new conſtitution called GODLINESS, in capitals, while *honeſty* was put in ſmall letters. Which things are not mentioned becauſe I think

I think myſelf better by nature than others, for I know the contrary. And after renewing grace was granted, I was ſuch a dull ſcholar in Chriſt's ſchool, that I was thirty-two years in learning a leſſon of only ſix words, viz. *one Lord, one faith, and one baptiſm.* It took ten years to get clear of the cuſtom of putting baptiſm before faith, and near five more to learn not to contradict the ſame in practice; after which above ſeventeen trying years rolled over us, before we could refrain from an implicit acknowledgment of more than one Lord in religious affairs. And what noiſe has been made in the world ſince, only becauſe we will not give up this leſſon, and obey man rather than God! And the chief movers therein, undoubtedly, are men who deny his right to impute Adam's ſin to them, or to damn them for not receiving Chriſt's imputed righteouſneſs for their juſtification. Neither can any own theſe doctrines, and be ſelf-conſiſtent, in holding that natural birth or human doings can bring infants into the covenant of grace. If it be of grace, then it cannot be of the birth or works of nature. *That which is born of the fleſh is fleſh,* ſays our bleſſed Lord. Circumciſion was a type of his death, and of our being cut off from confidence in the fleſh, and ingrafted into him by regeneration. Before his perſonal coming this ſign was, by divine inſtitution, put upon many who had not the thing ſignified within them; but as Abraham had it, it was a *ſeal* to him, while it was only a ſign or type to many others, Rom. iv. 11, Col. ii. 11, 12. By the covenant with Abraham, none were to be circumciſed but ſuch as were born in his houſe, or bought with his money; in which capacity he was an eminent type of Chriſt, whoſe church is conſtituted of perſons purchaſed with his blood, and regenerated

generated by his ſpirit. Aaron was alſo a noted type of him, and his lawful ſeed a type of regenerate ſouls, who are the *ſpiritual houſe* which is built upon the foundation that is *diſallowed of men*. And in vain do any of them try to prove the covenant to be the ſame now that it was with Abraham, until they can prove that Chriſt is hereafter to come, and endure another crucifixion. *Myſtery Babylon*, which means the myſtery of confuſion, was erected by *confounding* type and anti-tpye, church and ſtate, together. For a woman after marriage to refuſe to be governed by her huſband, and to ſay, *I will go after my lovers, that gave me my bread and my water, my wool and my flax, mine oil and my drink*, proves her to be a *harlot*. And by this practice the church of Rome became the *mother of harlots, and abomination of the earth. Kings have committed fornication with her; and by her ſorceries were all nations deceived.* How much have Proteſtants been deceived with theſe abominations! To ſet up any mere man as head of the church, is an imitation of thoſe who crucified our bleſſed Lord, by holding to an *earthly kingdom of the Meſſiah*. The taking away of the property of the people *by force*, for the prieſts in the church of Iſrael, brought amazing vengeance upon thoſe who gave countenance to that practice; yet the like iniquity has been tenaciouſly held faſt, by men who call themſelves miniſters of the goſpel; and *forcing* away the property of the Bapriſt for ſuch, has been done in various parts of this country, even down into this year 1784; and much clamour is made againſt them, only for refuſing to give any countenance to ſuch wickedneſs. But the call from heaven to all the ſaints is, *come out of her, my people, that ye be not partakers of her ſins, and that ye receive not of her plagues; for her*

ſins

ſins have reached unto heaven, and God hath remembered her iniquities, Rev. xvii. 5, xviii. 3, 4, 5, 23.

VI. LATE reaſonings have ſet the creature man ſo high, as to deny that a cauſe without him can determine his choice; while they hold that God's choice muſt be determined by what he ſees in the creature, and not in himſelf. But the only ſeed that can produce the new birth gives ſuch a turn to the mind, as to view all fleſh but as fading graſs, and the inhabitants of the world but as graſshoppers before God. Yea, as a drop of the bucket, and ſmall duſt of the balance. And to ſet the contraſt in its full light, it is declared that *all nations before him are as nothing, and they are counted to him leſs than nothing and vanity*. This is the *incorruptible ſeed*, of which ſouls are *born again*, Iſai. xl. 6—17, 1 Pet. i. 23, 24. In our natural darkneſs we imagine that our obligation to ſerve God and to come to Chriſt depends upon our will and pleaſure; and that when we get ready to ſet about the work in earneſt, his goodneſs and mercy will neceſſarily bring him to appear for our help, and to pardon and ſave us. Whereas in truth it is as much impoſſible for any rational perſon ever to be exempt, for one moment, from obligation to love God with all his powers, and to love his neighbours as himſelf, as it is for him to eſcape out of God's preſence, or to put an end to his own exiſtence. When Chriſt came and laid down his life for us, he gave the fulleſt demonſtration of the truth and love of God (as it was previouſly revealed in predictions and figures) and greatly enhanced our obligation to love and obey him; and alſo clearly opened the way for our doing it, in newneſs of ſpirit, and not in the oldneſs of the letter. The oldneſs of the letter lays every ſin and defect as a bar in the way of approach to a holy God; but

the newneſs of the ſpirit, while it cuts us off from any confidence in the fleſh, makes all our ſins and wants powerful arguments for our daily coming to the throne of grace for ſupplies. Though Adam in innocency could have no idea of a mediator, or of pardon and cleanſing from ſin; yet his obligation to the God of truth made it his indiſpenſable duty to believe and obey him, in all his revealed will, and highly criminal to call the ſame in queſtion. And unbelief ſtill remains unſpeakably criminal in his poſterity; for their natural powers of thinking and choice are not loſt. Therefore the more unable we are to love God with all our powers, and to believe and obey his revealed will, the more guilty and inexcuſable; becauſe we love the creature inſtead of the Creator, and regard lying vanities in oppoſition to eternal truth, which is confirmed by every event that ever happened. Good men and bad, angels and devils, all act according to the characters given of them in the holy ſcriptures. No ſoil can bear good wheat until the roots naturally in it are broken up, and the wheat ſown therein; ſo the new birth cannot be wrought in any but by divine revelation. It is not a creation of new faculties, but the giving new ideas and diſpoſitions, which were our indiſpenſable duty before, but our evil hearts were contrary thereto. Breaking up of the thorns and briers in a field, is removing things which ought not to be there; and the good ſeed being ſown, and an union formed between the ſeed and the ſoil, the birth, the growth is produced. By ſuch means as theſe great relief was granted to our country, when its ruin ſeemed inevitable. For at the cloſe of 1779 public credit was ſunk ſo low, that forty paper dollars would not buy more of the produce of our own country, than one would

would in 1775; and from thence to the end of the war very few ſoldiers were raiſed in New-England, but upon private perſonal ſecurities; and large quantities both of cloathing and proviſions, that were raiſed for them, never reached to their camps, by reaſon of the unfaithfulneſs and treachery in thoſe who ſhould have conveyed the ſame to them. But in the year 1779 a freſh revival of religion was granted, which increaſed in the year 1780, and ſpread the moſt extenſively and powerfully through New-England, that any revival had done for near forty years. Beſides conſiderable additions that were made to ſome of the Congregational churches, it greatly increaſed the Baptiſt churches that were formed before, and raiſed about twenty new ones. According to the beſt accounts yet obtained, there were not leſs than two thouſand perſons baptized upon a profeſſion of ſaving faith in New-England, only in the year 1780; and chiefly in the States of New-Hampſhire and the Maſſachuſetts. And though true religion is directly oppoſite to wars and fightings among men, yet it teacheth an inviolable regard to truth and equity; and no ſmall part of the duty of love is a defence of the innocent, when their rights are invaded, and their lives are in danger. The goſpel ſhews that the only lawful uſe of the ſword, is to puniſh ſuch as *work ill to their neighbour*; and ſubjection to the powers that do it is a matter of *conſcience* with believers, Rom. xiii. 1—10. And this revival of religion was undoubtedly a great means of ſaving this land from foreign invaſion, and from ruin by internal corruption; though the latter is ſtill ſo great, that there has been but little rejoicing, and leſs thankfulneſs, for the deliverance and peace which are wonderfully granted to us. The Warren Aſſociation, at their meeting, September 9, 1783,

1783, gave their views of theſe times in the following addreſs to their countrymen, viz.

VII. "*Dearly Beloved*,

"AFTER a long and very diſtreſſing war, we rejoice at this opportunity of congratulating you, upon the return of peace to the nations, and to our land in particular, with a proſpect of unſpeakable advantages to the preſent and future generations. Indeed we are not inſenſible that many are ſorrowful and complaining, inſtead of rejoicing at theſe times; ſeveral cauſes whereof are obvious. For ever ſince our firſt parents revolted from heaven, in order to pleaſe their eyes and their taſte, their children have been chiefly influenced by carnal ſenſe, inſtead of reaſon and truth. And the burthen of taxes, the great ſcarcity of caſh, with the preſſing calls for money from every quarter, have drawn a terrible gloom over many minds; which is greatly increaſed by a view of the untried ſcene of political exiſtence into which we have entered, where none can tell what is before us; and we have no ſuch arm of fleſh to truſt to as formerly. Added to which are a great variety of diſappointments and loſſes, with the uſe of corrupt ſchemes to repair them, and to get more power and gain, among all orders of men in the land, which make a number think our caſe almoſt deſperate. But the goſpel gives light, and opens the moſt glorious proſpects, where nature can ſee nothing but darkneſs. It aſſures us that ſufficient unto the day is the evil thereof, and forbids anxiety about to-morrow, becauſe a ſparrow cannot fall to the ground, nor an hair from your heads, without the providence of our heavenly Father. And what confirmations of this truth have we had? Yea, and which now ſurround us? A main hope of our enemies was built upon the

proſ-

proſpect of ſtarving us into ſubmiſſion; but behold! the ſhowers and ſhines of heaven were not at their command; no, nor the hearts of the people neither. The events of this war are unparalleled.—Deceitful reaſonings from the power given to the members and rulers of the Jewiſh church, have perſuaded people for many ages, that ſome men are born with a right to govern others, and that they are not accountable to the people for what they receive and do; which has been the grand ſource of oppreſſion and tyranny through the world. But how has God rent away this veil of darkneſs! The American revolution is wholly built upon the doctrine, that all men are born with an equal right to what providence gives them, and that all righteous government is founded in compact or covenant, which is equally binding upon the officers and members of each community.—And as ſurely as Chriſtianity is true, Chriſt is the only lawgiver and head of his church; whom he will ſave from the power both of *gallies* and *gallant ſhips*, thoſe modern engines of tyranny, Iſai. xxxiii. 16—24. And his laws determine that his miniſters ſhall neither be tyrants nor ſlaves: Shall neither be ſupported by *forcing* away any man's property without his perſonal conſent, nor *go a warfare of their own charges*, Mat. x. 7—10, Luke x. 3—12, 1 Cor. ix. 7—14. Oppoſite extremes about theſe matters have long ſerved to uphold each other. The terms *hire* and *reward*, on one hand, have been taken to drag this affair into ſecular courts; and the word *freely*, on the other, to excuſe people from doing any thing to ſupport their miniſters; as if *freedom* belonged only to miniſters, while the people were *ſlaves* to their luſts. Whereas it is as clear as the day-light, that the obligations between paſtors and people are mutual; and

and that their union and welfare greatly depend upon a free and faithful diſcharge thereof, out of ſupreme love to God; viewing themſelves to be but ſtewards of all their gifts and treaſures, who muſt ſoon give account unto him of their ſtewardſhip: Yea, and that he only can give them ſucceſs or enjoyment in any undertaking whatever. Theſe laws naturally tend to keep his flock from being devoured by ſuch as feed themſelves and not the flock, as well as to exclude all members therefrom who refuſe to be governed by him; and likewiſe to guard againſt all ſinful diviſions. Corrupt men will not have ſuch advantage as they formerly had, to deceive the ſimple with artful addreſſes to their paſſions, either about the licentiouſneſs or tyranny of others. The cry of perſecution will be ſtopped, while thoſe who love the truth will endeavour to unite with ſocieties who walk moſt clearly therein, and be in earneſt to fill their places with duty and uſefulneſs; knowing that mutual eſteem and confidence are moſt ſurely promoted thereby, without which ſocieties are unhappy, if not broken and diſſolved."

CHAP.

CHAP. XXI.

1. The Riſe of a Church on Martha's Vineyard. 2. The State of the Baptiſts in the County of Barnſtable. 3. Alſo in the County of Plymouth. 4. Of a Riot at Hingham. 5. Of the Baptiſts in Briſtol County. 6. Likewiſe in Suffolk, Eſſex and Middleſex. 7. In the Counties of Worceſter and Hampſhire. 8. Of a Revival of Religion to the Weſtward. 9. Alſo to the Northward. 10. And on our eaſtern Shores.

I. THE next thing before us, is to give a diſtinct though brief account of the late revival of religion, and of the ſtate of the Baptiſt churches. And we may begin with the affairs of Martha's Vineyard, an iſland about twenty miles long, and ten broad, whereon are the towns of Edgarton, Tiſbury, and Chilmark. They are a county by themſelves, for holding of Inferior Courts, from whence they may appeal to Superior Courts in other counties. From Falmouth, in Barnſtable county, to the entrance of the harbour of Holmes's Hole, on ſaid iſland, is nine miles; which harbour is much frequented by thoſe who ſail upon theſe coaſts, and piloting of veſſels round Cape-

Cape-Cod and elſewhere is no ſmall part of the buſineſs of its inhabitants. The line betwixt Edgarton and Tiſbury comes down upon the head of ſaid harbour, ſo that the inhabitants round it are upon the corners of two towns, ſeven or eight miles from the meeting-houſes in either of them; which I am told ſome of their children of fifteen or ſixteen years old never ſaw. For the ſoil is generally thin and barren, ſo that but very few horſes can be kept there, and the men are much employed on the ſea; or in getting ſuſtenance out of it: Yet they have been all taxed to a worſhip that they or their families could but rarely attend, and from which they ſeemed to get no good; ſo that at length very few of them went to any public worſhip at all. It is ſaid, however, that but few intemperate perſons were found among them. The war added greatly to their calamities, as our State could not protect them, and they lay at the mercy of our enemies; who came there with a powerful force in the fall of the year 1778, and took from the iſland all their arms and ammunition, beſides three hundred head of cattle and a thouſand ſheep, and moſt of the produce of the land near ſaid harbour. Dark indeed did their caſe appear; and on December 26 was ſuch a cold ſnow-ſtorm as cauſed the death of ſeventeen men in a privateer ſloop at the eaſt end of the iſland, and ſeventy-five more in a brig near Plymouth. Yet this terrible ſtorm drove into a creek, at the head of Holmes's Hole, ſuch a vaſt quantity of baſs as ſupplied the inhabitants of the whole iſland with as many of them as they were pleaſed to take, and more than they could make uſe of. And not long after a Britiſh veſſel was caſt away upon the weſt part of the iſland, which gave the inhabitants a good ſupply of rice. And greater

favours

favours of another kind were before them. By afflictive providences, and private means of grace, four perſons near Holmes's Hole were awakened to a ſenſe of their ſin and danger, and in the ſpring of 1780 they experienced a happy deliverance of ſoul. And no ſooner was light granted to them than they endeavoured to hold the ſame forth to others, which brought them to ſet up religious meetings, and a number were hopefully converted by theſe means. And about the laſt of June they ſent for Elder Lewis, of Freetown, who went over in July, and preached and baptized a number of them. He did the like again in Auguſt and October, as Elder Hunt alſo did in November; and, by particular requeſt, I met them there in December, when a careful enquiry was made into their ſentiments and views, and the order of the goſpel, with the ſolemn nature of the Chriſtian profeſſion, was publicly laid open and inculcated. After which, on December 21, 1780, we ſaw fifty perſons ſolemnly ſign covenant together, to whom ſix more were added on the 24th, and all then ſweetly communed together at the Lord's table. The high ſheriff of the county was a leading member of this church, which contained ſome perſons of every rank among them. The huſband of one of them was born among the Portugueſe, and was now newly returned from a diſtreſſing captivity in England. By ſeeing and hearing of theſe wonders of divine grace, his vows in trouble were brought with authority upon his mind; and though the tempter ſet in violently with his ſuggeſtions, that there was no mercy for him, and that he had better go and drown himſelf, in the evening after this communion, yet ſovereign grace prevented it, and ſet his ſoul at liberty, ſo that he was ſoon after baptized and joined to that church, as a conſiderable number

more alſo did. I have received no late accounts of the Indian Baptiſt church on that iſland. (Vol. I, p. 439.)

II. Our next view is of the county of Barnſtable. The Separate miniſter at Harwich, named in p. 175, has removed to Tamworth, in New-Hampſhire, and the other of Barnſtable is now a paſtor of a Congregational church at Newmarket, in that State; and Baptiſt churches are raiſed out of each of thoſe Separate ſocieties. A Baptiſt church was formed and organized at Harwich in 1757; but by advice of a Council, their miniſter was depoſed from his office in 1777, for immoral conduct, and they are now deſtitute of a paſtor, though they have an agreeable teacher with them. They have ſome members from Wellfleet, where our miniſters have frequently preached to attentive audiences. A ſmall pariſh in the ſouth part of Harwich got a Baptiſt miniſter, from the weſt part of our country, to preach in their pariſh meeting-houſe; and in 1781 they formed a Baptiſt church there, and he was ordained their miniſter; but he is upon the Arminian plan, and not in fellowſhip with our churches. The Baptiſt church in Barnſtable was conſtituted June 20, 1771; but they were very ſmall for ſeven years, and then a revival was granted, and another in 1781; and things at preſent appear encouraging among them, though they have not been able as yet to get a ſettled paſtor. There is the beginning of a Baptiſt ſociety in Sandwich, in that county; but we may truly ſay of our times, the harveſt is great, and the labourers are few.

III. The riſe of the firſt Baptiſt church in Middleborough has been deſcribed (p. 215); but coldneſs and ſtupidity had greatly prevailed there-

in

in for five years before the late revival of religion, which began in the latter part of 1778, and was at its height in July, 1780. The firſt perſon added to the church in this revival was on February 28, 1779, and eighty-five have been received ſince, above two-thirds of whom belong to Bridgwater, in the weſt part of which town a large Baptiſt meeting-houſe was built laſt year, eight miles from ours, and they have now got a miniſter to preach to them, though as yet they remain a branch of our church. The riſe of the ſecond Baptiſt church in Middleborough was as follows: Mr. Thomas Nelſon, who was born in the town June 6, 1676, juſt before Philip's war broke out, removed into that part of it called Aſawamſet, in 1717; about which time he joined to the firſt Baptiſt church in Swanzey, as his wife alſo did Auguſt 5, 1723. In 1753 he and his ſons, with a few more, ſet up a meeting at his houſe, and obtained Mr. Ebenezer Hinds to preach to them. Four miles ſouthweſtward from thence Mr. James Mead was ordained paſtor of a Separate church in 1751; but he died in 1756, after which the body of his church became Baptiſts, and Mr. Hinds's hearers joined with them, and ordained him their paſtor, January 26, 1756, in which office he ſtill continues. Mr. Nelſon died before this church was formed, in his eightieth year; but his wife, Mrs. Hope Nelſon, lived to be a member of it, and communed with them at the Lord's table after ſhe was an hundred years old. She died December 7, 1782, aged an hundred and five years and ſeven months. Her living poſterity, beſides all that had deceaſed, were two hundred and fifty-ſeven in the year 1774. But as ſome of them are removed to Nova-Scotia, and to other diſtant places, their number when ſhe died

has

has not ſince been obtained. Many of them are members of Baptiſt churches, and three of them are public teachers therein. Mr. Ebenezer Jones was ordained the paſtor of the third Baptiſt church in Middleborough October 28, 1761; but whiſperers, who ſeparate very friends, cauſed ſuch a diviſion there two years after, as not only removed him from being their paſtor, but alſo broke up their meeting for a time. He has been preaching for ſome years paſt at Steventown, in the county of Albany. Mr. Hunt was ordained the paſtor of ſaid church October 30, 1771; in which year they had a conſiderable revival, and another much greater in 1780. Their letter to the Warren Aſſociation, in September that year, gives the following account of it. Say they, "In our letters for ſeveral years paſt, we had to lament the ſad decay of religion among us, and the abounding of iniquity, which in the laſt year increaſed to the greateſt degree ever known in this place. Men were bold in wicked ways, and all the endeavours of a few faithful ones among us could not prevent it. But bleſſed be God, things have taken another turn this year; for when ſin, the great enemy of mankind, was *coming in like a flood, the ſpirit of the Lord has lifted up a ſtandard againſt him.* About the middle of March, on a Lord's day in the afternoon, there appeared a very viſible alteration in the face of the whole aſſembly; they were all attention to the word, and concern was diſcovered in their countenances, which increaſed ſo that by the beginning of April ſeveral ſcores of perſons appeared under deep concern about their ſouls and eternal ſalvation. And ſince the work began we have reaſon to hope that about one hundred ſouls have been turned from darkneſs to light, and eighty-three have been baptized.——It is very remarkable

remarkable in our view, to ſee ſo many ſuddenly turned from darkneſs to light, and have ſuch a clear underſtanding of the nature of religion, and ſo ready to practiſe what they know.——We have been remarkably free from diſorders, by means of which thoſe who appeared to oppoſe this work (who are chiefly of another denomination) and were waiting to ſee how things turned out, have ſeen ſuch things as have greatly ſtilled and convinced them. Thus has it pleaſed our gracious God to viſit a moſt unworthy people, and, after a dark night of ſorrow and mourning, to make us glad with his ſalvation." From the beginning of the revival to September, 1781, more than an hundred perſons were added to that church, above half of whom were males.

IV. A BRANCH of this church is at Marſhfield, where a ſteady ſociety for worſhip has been kept up for ſome years; and in the late revival a number of perſons were hopefully converted in Scituate, on the north borders of our county; and frequent religious meetings were held there. This cauſed a great uneaſineſs in the adjacent town of Hingham, where their miniſters had long taught the world to tyrannize over the church (p. 159). And as an exhorter from Rhode-Iſland government had attended ſeveral meetings in Scituate, the people of Hingham could not be content without ſhewing their particular reſentment againſt him. Therefore one of them followed ſaid exhorter into Abington, as he was upon his return home, and importuned him to go and hold a meeting at his houſe. This he at laſt conſented to; and a number of people met there for religious worſhip in the evening of May 28, 1782. But juſt as they were going to begin their exerciſe, a large mob

came

came up, whoſe leader was a communicant in one of the churches in Hingham, and, by leave of the man who had invited ſaid exhorter to his houſe, they went in and ſeized him, and carried him away with the bible in his hand; but upon his telling them that it was the beſt law he ever heard of, they knocked it out of his hand, and ſtamped it under foot, with oaths and execrations too horrid to be repeated! And they bruiſed and injured his body, as well as tore his cloaths; and forcibly carried him and two other baptized brethren out of Hingham; and afterwards threatened the life of ſaid exhorter, if he ever came there again. By good advice, a complaint was exhibited to the Grand Jury of that county againſt the chief of thoſe rioters, and a bill was found againſt five of them, ſupported by eight witneſſes; and four of the rioters were arraigned before the Court at Boſton, October 10, and pleaded not guilty; upon which their trial was appointed to be on January 14, 1783; and they were laid under bonds then to appear; and the Court bound the witneſſes alſo to appear at that time, four of whom were men, and the others women. The ſeaſon proved to be exceeding difficult, by reaſon of ſnow, ice and a ſevere air, yet the four male witneſſes appeared at the time appointed, but none of the rioters, neither was any forfeiture of their bonds exacted; but their trial was put off for two days, and all the witneſſes were required then to appear. A ſleigh was therefore procured to carry two of the female witneſſes; but as they called at a friend's houſe in Hingham in the evening, to refreſh themſelves, it was conveyed away and cut to pieces, and they could not find their horſe till next day. Yet all the eight witneſſes appeared in Boſton at the time laſt appointed; but

then

then the lawyers prevailed to have the trial put off until April; one of whom was the man that pleaded conſcience for ſupporting worſhip by tax, in our conference at Philadelphia, mentioned p. 303. But the world may now ſee what conſciences ſuch men have. In the ſpring thoſe rioters found that they could no longer put the caſe off, and then they were in earneſt to ſettle it without a public hearing, which was finally done, by their engaging to pay all coſts. But let the politicians of Boſton remember, that it is but a few years ſince they declared to the world, that a delay of juſtice is a denial of juſtice; and therefore that wherein they judged others they are ſelf-condemned. And they appear more openly ſo from the following inſtance. The burthen of civil taxes being exceeding heavy, and a pair of oxen being expoſed to ſale therefor in Taunton, oppoſition was made againſt the ſale; until a gentleman offered a generous price for them, and then the matter was ſettled. Yet to deter perſons from any ſuch thing for the future, two men of Taunton were ſeized in the night, and carried off to Boſton by armed men, the Auguſt after ſaid riot at Hingham. What right they had thus to bring men out of another county, belongs not to me to determine; but if an *impartial* regard to the public peace, as well as to the rights of Chriſtianity, had prevailed in the breaſts of ſome men in Boſton, could thoſe rioters in their own county have poſſibly been indulged as they were, and thoſe ſufferers have been ſo cruelly treated!

V. OFFICERS in the church as well as ſtate often do much miſchief if unfaithful, and much good if faithful in their ſeveral ſtations. Our churches in Swanzey and Rehoboth have had large experience of this.

this. The bleſſings which the firſt church of Swanzey enjoyed under the ſucceſſive miniſtrations of their elders, Miles, Luther and Wheaton, are touched upon (vol. 1, p. 353, 506, vol. 2, p. 68, 121, 124). Mr. Samuel Maxwell was ordained a colleague with the laſt of them the year before his death. Mr. Maxwell lived to a great age, and was eſteemed a pious man; but he was ſo unſteady in his principles and conduct, as to cauſe much unhappineſs in the churches. On this account he was, by his own requeſt, diſmiſſed from Swanzey in 1739, and though he took the charge of the Baptiſt church in Rehoboth ſix years after, yet he did not continue four years with them. In 1742 ſaid church in Swanzey ſettled a gifted miniſter from Narraganſet, who had a thronged audience for a few years, yet then he was accuſed of the ſin of uncleanneſs, which charge he never cleared up, but went off and left the church. Their next miniſter was accuſed of taking unjuſt methods to get into that place; and he was much influenced by a few men in the church who were attached to Arminianiſm; and by theſe means, the church that had two hundred members in pious Elder Wheaton's days, was reduced to a very ſmall number, and the congregation alſo. After about thirty years he was diſmiſſed at his own requeſt, and removed away. And as the meeting-houſe and miniſter's houſe in Warren were burnt by the enemy, and the place was ſtill expoſed to their rage, they agreed at preſent to unite with Swanzey church, three miles off; and their paſtor was called and ſettled there. And ſuch a divine bleſſing was granted, that when I was there in October, 1781, I was informed that within two years about two hundred perſons had been added to the two churches in Swanzey. The former elders of the

the ſecond church in Swanzey are before mentioned (p. 11, 13, 43.). Their next elder, Job Maſon, was ordained May 22, 1738, and was well eſteemed in his office until his deceaſe, in Auguſt, 1775, æt. 80. His brother Ruſſel Maſon, their preſent paſtor, was ordained November 2, 1752. General redemption had been ſo much held there, as to admit members upon a general declaration of their faith, until a powerful work among them, in the beginning of 1772, introduced particular relations of the work of divine grace upon their ſouls; and light has greatly increaſed among them ſince. And in this late revival it has introduced ſinging in their public worſhip. The town of Rehoboth calls for our next attention. The Baptiſt church formed there under Mr. Comer's miniſtry (p. 121) increaſed to ninety-five members in leſs than two years. But in 1736 a miniſter was ordained in his ſtead, whoſe principles were unſound; and ſix years after he took a whore inſtead of his wife, and went off with her. Since which diverſity of ſentiments about doctrines, terms of communion, &c. have produced many ſmall ſocieties in that town, which I ſhall not attempt particularly to deſcribe here, as a liſt of them may hereafter be given. The two Baptiſt churches in Attleborough were formed out of Separate churches there. The paſtor of the church in Norton (mentioned p. 232) after a pious and uſeful life, fell aſleep on Auguſt 23, 1768. After which the church united with a ſmall ſociety in the north borders of Taunton, where they are become a large ſociety; and their preſent paſtor was ordained November 12, 1772. In the year 1780 there was a moſt precious harveſt of ſouls among them. No other Baptiſt churches in that county have had

more than one paſtor; and their names may hereafter be given.

VI. The three counties laſt mentioned contain the whole of the ancient Colony of Plymouth (the firſt in New-England) excepting the few towns ſince ſet off to Rhode-Iſland. The Colony of Maſſachuſetts is the next before us, the head county whereof is Suffolk. The affairs of the two Baptiſt churches in Boſton, their capital, have been deſcribed (vol. 1, p. 353, &c. vol. 2, p. 33, 50, 125, 149, 269, 276.) To which I ſhall add, that Mr. Condy was a gentleman of ſuperior powers and learning, and of a very reſpectable character among mankind; but the ſentiments he had imbibed about the doctrines of ſovereign grace, impeded his public uſefulneſs in the miniſtry; and upon the inſtalment of their preſent paſtor, January 9, 1765, he freely reſigned his office in that church. The preſent paſtor of their ſecond church ſucceeded Mr. Davis in 1774. The next Baptiſt church in that county is in Bellingham, which was conſtituted October 15, 1750. Their firſt paſtor was Mr. Elnathan Wight, a pious and uſeful man, who died in November, 1761. To him ſucceeded their preſent paſtor, who was inſtalled there November 12, 1766. He was firſt ordained at Stafford, June 5, 1755; but was diſmiſſed from thence by the advice of a Council, Auguſt 28, 1765, becauſe the majority of the church appeared to be ſo much out of a goſpel line of travel, that other churches withdrew their fellowſhip from them. The reſt of the Baptiſt churches in that county have had no more than one miniſter. In Eſſex, beſide the church of Haverhill, of which we have ſpoken (p. 236) Baptiſt meetings are held at Danvers, Rowley and Methuen. In Middleſex, the church whereof Mr. Draper was paſtor in Cambridge

bridge (p. 176) diſſolved after he left them, and the time of the conſtitution of our preſent church there may be hereafter ſeen. Mr. Eliſha Rich was the firſt paſtor of our Chelmsford church, who was ordained there October 5, 1774, but he removed into the State of Vermont near four years after. Their preſent paſtor was ordained September 24, 1783. Baptiſt meetings are ſteadily held at Framingham and Weſton, but churches are not formed there.

VII. In Worceſter county, the church at Sutton, mentioned (p. 124) was become ſmall when their aged paſtor died, January 4, 1775, and they are ſince diſſolved. The ſecond Baptiſt church there ſettled a miniſter in 1768, who was diſmiſſed four years after for not being found in the faith. Elder Green, of Leiceſter, after a very laborious and uſeful life, was taken to his reſt Auguſt 20, 1773, æt. 73. Benjamin Foſter, A. M. educated at Yale college, was ordained there October 23, 1776, and an evident bleſſing attended his labours for a conſiderable time. But differences about ſome points of practice ariſing among them, he was diſmiſſed by mutual conſent, about ſix years after, and removed and preaches to a new ſociety in Danvers, his native place. The firſt paſtor of the Baptiſt church in Sturbridge died in 1755, and they have gone through many trying ſcenes ſince, but have at preſent a proſpect of ſettling an agreeable paſtor ſoon. Mr. Samuel Dennis was ordained at Peterſham in October, 1778, but he was taken from his beloved flock by death in April, 1783. The firſt paſtor of South-Brimfield church, in the county of Hampſhire (p. 124) removed from thence to Nova-Scotia (though he came back afterward) and Mr. James Mellen was their ſecond paſtor, who is mentioned p. 242, 243. Their preſent paſtor was ordained

ordained November 11, 1773, when the church was very ſmall and feeble, but a great bleſſing has been ſince granted there. They had but twenty-three members in the church before a revival began among them in 1779, which in their letter to our Aſſociation, in September that year, was thus deſcribed, viz. "Dear brethren, we have to inform you, that by the grace of God we are at peace among ourſelves, and enjoy much of that love which paſſeth knowledge. The Lord of his mercy is come down among us, by his great and mighty power. Such ſolemn meetings we never had before; it comes like the ſhowers of rain upon the mown graſs. O the agonies of ſoul that ſome feel, and the joys that ſome are full and more than full of! It ſeems as if heaven was come down here. Numbers are born of the Spirit, and feel the ſweet liberty of the goſpel. O the ſolemn cries for the ſalvation of ſinners! O the amazing joys we feel! Never, never did we before ſee ſuch a happy day! May the Lord have all the glory. O that it may ſpread through all the earth! Through divine goodneſs it does ſpread more and more. Brethren, pray for us. Some who a few weeks ago ſeemed the moſt ſtupid, are now ſpeaking freely of their amazing joys, and beholding their bleeding and very precious Redeemer. The work is ſo great that we cannot conſent to our elder's meeting you in Aſſociation this year. We have this year thirty-four added by baptiſm; our whole number is fifty-ſeven." From our ſiſter church in Wilbraham, adjacent to them, they wrote at the ſame time and ſaid, "We pray God to direct you in conferring upon matters that concern the viſible kingdom of Chriſt, and do that which may be for his glory, and the laſting peace and benefit of his churches. Beloved, the love of Chriſt, that

bond

bond of peace, ſtill unites our hearts. God of his infinite grace and goodneſs is carrying on a glorious work by his ſpirit. Saints are quickened thereby, and ſinners are converted to him. It is wonderful to behold the change that has been in the ſpace of one year with us. The hearts of fathers are turned to the children, and the children to the fathers. God is to us a place of broad rivers; we deſire to exalt him, and give him all the glory.—Added to the church this year fifty-one; died none. Our preſent number is one hundred and thirty-three."

VIII. An elder from Berkſhire wrote Auguſt 29, 1779, and ſaid, "I ſnatch a moment to acknowledge the debt of love. I read the refreſhing lines from you, and rejoice in your proſperity. May Zion's King enlarge her borders. It is a moſt remarkable time of the work of our God in New Providence*, Laneſborough, Hancock, New-Lebanon, Little-Houſack, and ſome other places. In the fore part of June, at Shaftſbury, I baptized twenty-nine in one day. At Wallomſtock§ I attended the ordination of Elder Wait, and had a charming interview with Elder Gano. In a few weeks paſt I have baptized thirty-two, who have joined to our church. Elder Maſon has baptized perhaps near thirty more, and a number have declared what God has done for them, that are not yet baptized. O brethren, help us to praiſe the God of love!" From Aſhfield they wrote in September, 1780, and ſaid, "The Lord has been pleaſed to pour out of his ſpirit abundantly in this place, to the quickening of his children, and the conviction and converſion of many ſouls, as we, in a judgment of charity, have reaſon to believe. O help

* Now part of the town of Adams.

§ Near where the Bennington battle was.

O help us to praiſe the Lord for his goodneſs, and his wonderful works to the children of men, and to us in particular!—We have had the addition of nine members by letters, and thirty-ſix by baptiſm; have diſmiſſed two to the church in Colerain, and excluded one. Our preſent number is ninety-four." And in all the churches and members that were added to the Warren Aſſociation in 1780, there was an increaſe of ſeven hundred and ninety-ſix members. Ninety were added only to the church in South-Brimfield, which formerly had paſſed through many and ſore trials. And from a miniſter in the State of New-Hampſhire, to whom I wrote, I received the following remarkable account, dated March 15, 1781. Says he,

IX. "I REJOICE, ſir, to hear that in the midſt of judgment, God is remembering mercy, and calling in his elect, from eaſt to weſt. You have refreſhed my mind with good news from the weſt and ſouth, and in return I will inform you of good news from the north and eaſt. Some hundreds of ſouls are hopefully converted in the counties of Rockingham, Stafford and Grafton, in New-Hampſhire, within about a year paſt. In the laſt journey I went, before my beloved wife was taken from me, I baptized ſeventy-two men, women, and ſome that may properly be called children, who confeſſed with their mouths the ſalvation God had wrought in their hearts, to good ſatisfaction. Meredith, in Stafford, has a church gathered the year paſt, conſiſting of between ſixty and ſeventy members. I baptized forty-three in that town in one day, and ſuch a ſolemn weeping of the multitude on the ſhore I never before ſaw. The ordinance of baptiſm appeared to carry univerſal conviction through them, even to a man. The wife, when

when ſhe ſaw her huſband going forward, began to weep, to think ſhe was not worthy to go with him: In like manner the huſband the wife, the parent the child, the children the parent; that the lamentation and weeping methinks may be compared to the inhabitants of Hadadrimmon, in the valley of Magiddon.—Canterbury, in Rockingham county, has two Baptiſt churches gathered in the year paſt, one in the pariſh of Northfield; the number I cannot tell, but it is conſiderably large: I baptized thirty-one there, and a number have been baptized ſince by others: The other is in the pariſh of Loudon, in ſaid Canterbury, containing above an hundred members.—Another church of about fifty members is gathered in Chicheſter; another in Barrington, conſiſting of a goodly number, and one in Hubbardſton, all three in Stafford county. Two churches in Grafton county, one in Holderneſs, the other in Rumney. The church in Rumney had one Hains ordained laſt Auguſt, much to the ſatisfaction of the people. All theſe ſeven churches have been gathered in about a year paſt.—One church was gathered laſt fall in Wells, over which brother Nathaniel Lord, late of Berwick, is ordained.—There appears to be a general increaſe of the Baptiſt principles through all the eaſtern parts of New-England." A large part of thoſe plantations, for an hundred and fifty miles upon our eaſtern ſhores, have no Congregational miniſters. Near thirty incorporated towns in the county of Lincoln have ſcarce five ſuch miniſters ſettled in them. But I have received the following entertaining account of the revival of religion in thoſe parts.

X. A MAN who was born there, and was about ten years old when ſuch a noiſe was made againſt Mr. Whitefield, as we have deſcribed (p. 171) ſays, "I was

"I was then convinced that neither myſelf, nor thoſe men who ſpake with ſo much ſpite and malice, were the children of God; and I was rationally convinced that thoſe they ſpake againſt were his children, although they called them deluded, poſſeſſed with the devil, Highflyers and Newlights; and though they ſpake it as a ſcandal, yet I believed I muſt know that light, or periſh in darkneſs; and I ſtill retained a ſelfiſh or legal love to thoſe people, though never ſo much deſpiſed. And from that time until I was twenty-ſix years old, the ſpirit of God was ſtriving with me, by awakening my conſcience, convincing me of ſin, and that I muſt be born again. And ſo I went on ſinning and repenting, reforming and forgetting, looking upon God to be ſuch a God as I would have him to be; in hopes, that for what good there was in me, he would ſhew mercy to me. But when about twenty-ſix years of age, and my affections much ſet upon the things of the world, juſt about the time I was married, I was ſuddenly taken down with ſickneſs, and part of the time deprived of reaſon; and thoſe who ſaw me deſpaired of my recovery. But, glory be to God, he dealt not with me according to my deſerts, but according to his rich love and free grace in Jeſus Chriſt; for he enlightened my underſtanding, and awakened my conſcience, and ſet my ſins in order before me, and that which I had forgotten came all to memory, with the breach of many vows and promiſes, which grieved me to the heart as I thought. O, I cried to God to forgive my ſins, and to ſhew mercy for Chriſt's ſake; for I ſaw myſelf a condemned ſinner, and told thoſe who came to diſcourſe with me about religious matters, that I ſaw myſelf to be the greateſt ſinner of all men; and had I owned all this globe, I would have given it

all

all for an intereſt in Chriſt. Yea, all the men upon earth could not have perſuaded me out of the opinion, that I was more willing to receive Chriſt than he was to receive me. But it pleaſed the Lord, in about a month, to raiſe me up to a conſiderable ſtate of bodily health, with a great earneſtneſs, as I thought, to ſeek and ſerve him; reading the ſcriptures often, praying in ſecret and in my family, exhorting many others to ſeek and ſerve God, and warning them againſt evil practices. Yet in all this I did not think I was born again, neither did I think I could do any thing of myſelf to forward the work of regeneration; and here I got clear of one falſe hope, and began to build upon another; now I put great dependence in my non-dependence, and ſo went on with my reformation, thinking all the good I did that it was God who wrought it in me, and the evil came from the devil and my own corrupt nature; and this hope gave me great joy in my good performances, but great grief, guilt and repentance, for the commiſſion of any known ſin, or the omiſſion of any known duty; and ſo I went on for ten or twelve years, and after that I grew more engaged after the treaſures of the world, and then my delight in religion died away. —At length I began to think I was blind, and ignorant both of my own miſerable eſtate, and of the remedy God had provided. I prayed that God would enlighten my underſtanding; but ſtill I grew more blind, ignorant and wicked, as I thought, but kept it to myſelf, till at laſt I got hedged up ſo that I could neither read nor pray, which laſted but a ſhort time. This was a ſabbath morning, September 30, 1781.—Now I began to ſee the baſe views I formerly had of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and of the plan of ſalvation; for when I had a diſcovery of ac-

tual ſins, and the danger I was expoſed to thereby, I would repent and reform, and think what a glorious Saviour Chriſt was, and that ſome time or other he would ſave me from hell, and take me to glory, with a deſire to be happy, but no deſire to be holy. But, glory be to God, he now gave me another view of ſalvation; now I ſaw his law to be holy, and loved it, though I and all my conduct was condemned by it. Now I ſaw that God's juſtice did not ſtrike againſt me as his creature, but as a ſinner, and that Chriſt died not only to ſave from puniſhment, but from ſin itſelf. I ſaw that Chriſt's office was not only to make men happy, but to make them holy, and the plan now looked beautiful to me; I had no deſire to have the leaſt tittle of it altered, but all my cry was to be conformed to it.—On October 3 the load of guilt and condemnation was inſtantly removed, and my ſoul was filled with joy and peace. Then it was aſked me, could I deſire any thing more? And at firſt I ſaw no want, till I found a want of love and gratitude in me to return thanks to God for this great deliverance, which I began to cry and plead for; and thoſe words were ſpoke to me, *greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friend*; which came with ſuch light, life, love and power, that I knew it to be the voice of my bleſſed Jeſus, who by his holy ſpirit ſet that glorious ſeal to my ſoul that God is true; and now, by his grace, I could ſpeak forth redeeming love and free grace without dread or fear. At this time there was no work or moving of religion among us, or round about us." But he was conſtrained to go and viſit his neighbours from houſe to houſe, and to lay open to them the vaſt concerns of the ſoul and eternity, whereby many were awakened, and a large number have

have been hopefully converted ſince. Two new Baptiſt churches have been formed in this year, and there is a proſpect of greater and more extenſive bleſſings in thoſe new plantations.

CHAP. XXII.

1. Of the Baptiſt Churches in the County of Providence. 2. In Newport County. 3. And Weſtward from thence. 4. The Folly of Man expoſed. 5. Even among all Sects. 6. How Truth is held in Unrighteouſneſs. 7. By the Shakers as well as others. 8. The only Remedy againſt Deluſions, and Meaſure of our real Happineſs, is a hearty Obedience to God's revealed Will.

1. WHEN we turn our eyes weſtward, and take a view of the firſt Baptiſt church in America, the folly of man and the goodneſs of God appear very conſpicuous therein. The learned Mr. Callender, in his century ſermon, expreſſed ſome ſcruple whether Mr. Roger Williams, the founder of that town and Colony, was ever a member of that church, or not. But he was convinced of this miſtake afterwards. Governor Winthrop, the moſt ingenuous

genuous and upright writer of any gentleman at Boſton in that day, whoſe writings have come down to us, dates the beginning of the Baptiſt church in Providence in March, 1639, and ſays it began by Ezekiel Holiman's baptizing Mr. Williams, and then he baptizing the reſt. But that in July after, the opinion mentioned (p. 95) put a ſtop to his further travel with them. And Richard Scott, who was one of them, ſays two or three of the church withdrew with Williams. (Vol. 1, p. 106—108.) Thomas Olney was their next miniſter. But the diverſity of ſentiments mentioned in this volume (p. 94—96) brought ſuch darkneſs over their affairs, that no regular records before 1770 are now found therein. Their ancient fathers, Olney, Dexter, Wickenden, Tillinghaſt and others, could write well, as their civil records and ſome private papers witneſs; and I cannot but hope that more diſtinct accounts of their religious affairs will hereafter be diſcovered. Elder Tillinghaſt, whoſe memory is precious (p. 110, 114) plainly told his people their duty to future miniſters; but himſelf was ſo far from being chargeable to them, that he gave the lot upon which their firſt meeting-houſe was built, and died in a good old age, in 1718, and his poſterity are now numerous and reſpectable. Mr. Ebenezer Jencks, brother to the Governor, was a paſtor of that church from 1719, to his deceaſe in 1726, colleague with Elder James Brown (p. 116.) And their two families have, in late years, done the moſt of any families upon earth for the promotion of learning, and the Baptiſt cauſe in Providence. Elder Winſor, there mentioned, continued in that office until his death in 1758, æt. 81. Elder Thomas Burlingham was a colleague with him, and died in 1770, æt. 82. Elder Winſor's ſon Samuel ſucceed-

ed

ed him in the care of ſaid church in Providence, from 1759 until 1771, when he and a minor part of the church drew off, on account of differing ſentiments concerning the doctrines of grace, and ſinging in public worſhip, then introduced (which was a return to the firſt principles of the church) and he and his followers formed another church in Johnſton. One of the two churches in Smithfield (mentioned in p. 120) is diſſolved: Elder John Winſor officiates in the other, where Elder Place did; but I have not been favoured with any diſtinct account of their affairs, nor of thoſe of the church in Scituate, where Elder Hopkins ſucceeds Elder Fiſk. The like is to be ſaid of the church in Cumberland, where Elder Ballou ſucceeds Elder Cooke. Theſe three churches hold to general redemption, and make laying on of hands a term of their communion. But Elder Joſeph Winſor, ſon to the firſt Elder Winſor in Providence, who ſucceeds Elder Thomas Knowlton in Glouceſter, is in full fellowſhip with our churches. And ſo is Elder Rufus Tift, who was ordained in North-Providence June 16, 1784, ſucceſſor to Elder Ezekiel Angell, who died September 27, 1780.

II. Of the miniſters of the firſt and ſecond churches in Newport, we have before ſpoken (p. 109, 110, 122.) The learned Mr. Callender died there January 26, 1748; and Mr. Upham's ſociety at Springfield being ſmall, he was prevailed with to remove to Newport the next year, where he miniſtered the chief of his time until 1771, when he returned to his flock at Springfield, whom he had often viſited in the mean time. And Mr. Kelly, from Philadelphia, was ordained paſtor of the firſt church in Newport, October 9, 1771; and though the war cauſed his removal from them, yet

yet he has ſince returned to them again. Elder Wightman, of the ſecond church there, died Auguſt 31, 1750, æt. 82. Elder Eyres was taken from them February 13, 1759, æt. 68, and their preſent paſtor, who had often preached to them before, was ordained the 29th of April following. He was almoſt the only diſſenting miniſter who continued to preach on the iſland through all the diſtreſſing ſeaſon of its being poſſeſſed by the enemy; and he has had a precious harveſt of ſouls there ſince. The third church in Newport, who keep the ſeventh day, began under the miniſtry of Mr. William Hiſcox in 1671, who continued their paſtor until his death, May 24, 1704, æt. 66. Elder William Gibſon from London was his ſucceſſor, and died March 12, 1717, æt. 79. Elder Joſeph Crandall had been a colleague with him for two years, and continued their miniſter until he died, September 13, 1737. Elder John Maxſon was their next miniſter, from 1754 until his deceaſe, March 2, 1778. Mr. Ebenezer David (who was converted in Providence college, and took his firſt degree there in 1772) belonged to this church; and having been a chaplain much eſteemed in our army, died therein not far from Philadelphia, a few days after Mr. Maxſon. Their preſent paſtor was ordained a colleague with him.

The church in Dartmouth (mentioned in p. 18, 73) now have their meeting-houſe and the majority of their members within the bounds of Tiverton. Elder Tabor died in 1752; after which they had Elder David Round for their miniſter a number of years, and ſome others; but it was a dark trying time with them, until a late remarkable revival was granted. Their preſent paſtor is from Newport. He removed there in the ſpring

of

of 1775, but laboured under many diſcouragements for five years; and then heavy afflictions were made to work for good to him and his people. He was ordained April 13, 1780, and much of a ſpirit of prayer was granted for the revival of religion; which prayers were anſwered in ſuch a manner, that betwixt the firſt of June that year, and June 27, 1781, ninety members were added to that church. In which time ſay they, "We have ſeen as it were many Pentecoſt days, and enjoyed heaven upon earth: All glory to God forever and ever. The ſubjects of the work ſeem to be of all ages, from fifteen to ſixty, and all circumſtances of life. They tell clear experiences of a work of grace; and ſome who have been profeſſors ſeveral years can now tell ſomething like a new converſion."

III. When we paſs over the Narraganſet Bay, I perceive that the church in South-Kingſtown (mentioned p. 120) has long been diſſolved; thoſe in North-Kingſtown and Warwick continue, but my intelligence concerning them is too imperfect to be of any ſervice to the public. The like may be ſaid concerning the ſeventh day church at Weſterly and Hopkinton, who continued to act as one church with their brethren of Newport, until they were regularly diſmiſſed therefrom in 1708. The church in the weſt part of Warwick, where Elder Worden was ordained (p. 175) is diſſolved; and after preaching for ſome time to the church in Coventry (mentioned p. 202) many of them removed to the place where he is now ſettled in Berkſhire. The weſt part of Coventry, with the adjacent borders of Scituate and Foſter, had ſcarcely the appearance of religion among them, until Elder Nichols was raiſed up, and made inſtrumental of a very conſiderable reformation in thoſe parts. Elder David Sprague died in Exeter,

Exeter, in 1777, and his ſon before and ſince has been made a very uſeful man there. Oliver Babcock ſucceeded his father in office at Weſterly. Elder Wightman's ſon is his ſucceſſor in Groton. The church at New-London (p. 89) is diſſolved, by means of the ill conduct of their miniſter. The pious Elder Merriman died at Southington laſt winter, æt. 88. Such a revival of religion was granted in Woodſtock, in 1780, as added ninety members to the Baptiſt church there, in leſs than two years. And to the honor of Governor Trumbull it is to be remembered, that he has repeatedly interpoſed his influence in favour of that ſociety, to relieve them when taxed to the worſhip of their opponents. The preſent Baptiſt miniſter of Suffield was ordained in 1775; and ſuch a bleſſing was granted upon his labours, that their church increaſed in about a year from ſixty to two hundred members. And our principles prevail more and more in all parts of the country; ſo that we may truly adopt the language of Moſes's prophetical ſong, *for their rock is not our rock, even our enemies themſelves being judges.* They have often declared that their miniſters and churches would come down, if they were not ſupported by compulſion. They have now tried that power againſt us, and to ſupport themſelves, until it plainly fails them, while our rock ſtands firm. Let all the glory be given to God therefor. We are ſo far from deſerving any part of it, that like babes we have need again to be taught which are the firſt principles of the oracles of God.

IV. Let us take a brief view of thoſe principles, and of the folly of man in departing from them. If we pay any regard to the word of Chriſt, we muſt know, that no man can ſee his kingdom, nor have right to any *power* therein, without regeneration;

ration; and alſo that all ſtriving about who ſhall be the greateſt is excluded therefrom, John i. 12, 13, iii. 3, Mat. xviii. 1—4, xx. 25—28. Agreeable to which the fathers of New-England were taught, that, "As the kingdom of Chriſt is not of this world (John xviii. 36) but ſpiritual, and he a ſpiritual king; ſo muſt the government of this ſpiritual kingdom, under this ſpiritual king, needs be ſpiritual, and all the laws of it. And as Chriſt Jeſus hath, by the merits of his prieſthood (1 Cor. vi. 20) redeemed as well the body as the ſoul, ſo is he alſo, by the ſceptre of his kingdom, to rule and reign over both: Unto which Chriſtian magiſtrates, as well as meaner perſons, ought to ſubmit themſelves; and the more Chriſtian they are, the more meekly to take the yoke of Chriſt upon them; and the greater authority they have, the more effectually to advance his ſceptre over themſelves and their people by all good means. Neither can there be any reaſon given, why the merits of ſaints may not as well be mingled with the merits of Chriſt for the ſaving of his church, as the laws of men with his laws for the ruling and guiding of it. He is as abſolute and entire a king as he is a prieſt, and his people muſt be as careful to preſerve the dignity of the one, as to enjoy the benefit of the other*." And as the teachers in the church of England continued to call baptiſm regeneration, as Origen did, and yet the author againſt whom Mr. Robinſon wrote told of his begetting many of his hearers in Chriſt by his preaching, Robinſon ſaid to him, "Their baptiſm was true baptiſm, and ſo the true ſeal of their forgiveneſs of ſins, and new birth, as you affirm p. 119, and this their ſeal of the new birth hath ſtood good upon them all this

* Robinſon againſt Bernard, p. 38.

while, visibly and externally; and yet, after all this, you preach unto them and beget them anew, visibly and eternally (for only God knoweth that which is true within.) You have begotten them through the gospel. Behold a monstrous generation! a man begetting children twenty, thirty or forty years after they be born! If Nichodemus had heard of this, he might well have said, how can these things be*!" And how is the folly of others also now exposed in our land? In 1638, the year Harvard college was founded, a law was made at Boston, to empower the voters in each town (which then were only the communicants in their churches) to compel every inhabitant therein to contribute proportionably with others, "For upholding the ordinances in the churches, whereof he *doth or may* receive benefit." And because a man wrote some arguments against this practice, he was fined Ten Pounds; and another was fined Forty Shillings, only for reading the same before company; and the ministers said such men were "Rather to be taught by cudgel than argument." (Vol. 1, p. 98, 100.) But how is their folly now made *manifest unto all men*, according to God's promise? 2 Tim. iii. 5—9. Corrupt ministers have done the most to promote infidelity and a contempt of revealed religion of any men upon earth. After these things had broken forth in the nation most terribly, in and after the reign of Charles the second, bishop Burnet said, "I am forced to declare, that having had much free conversation with many that have been fatally corrupted that way, they have very often owned to me, that nothing promoted this so much in them, as the very bad opinion which they took up of all clergymen of all sides: They did not see in them that strictness of life, that contempt

* Preface, p. 11, 12.

tempt of the world, that zeal, that meekneſs, humility and charity, that diligence and earneſtneſs, with relation to the truths of the Chriſtian religion, which they reckoned they would moſt certainly have, if they themſelves firmly believed it. Therefore they concluded, that thoſe whoſe buſineſs it was more ſtrictly to enquire into the truth of their religion, knew that it was not ſo certain as they themſelves, for other ends, endeavoured to make the world believe it was. And that, though for carrying on of their own authority or fortunes, which in one word they call their *trade*, they ſeemed to be very poſitive in affirming the truth of their doctrines; yet they in their own hearts did not believe it, ſince they lived ſo little anſwerable to it, and were ſo much ſet on raiſing themſelves by it; and ſo little on advancing the honor of their *profeſſion*, by an exemplary piety and ſhining converſation. This (ſays Burnet) is a thing not to be anſwered by being angry at them for ſaying it, or by reproaching ſuch as repeat it, as if they were *enemies to the church*; theſe words of heat and faction ſignify nothing to work upon, or convince any†." And he well obſerves, that a real reformation is the only effectual remedy. And ſuch a door is now opened for an extenſive reformation, as never has been before among any people ſince the riſe of Antichriſt. He roſe and has prevailed by the connexion of the officers of church and ſtate together, ſo as to level the terrors both of this and the future world againſt all that attempted to reſiſt their power. But how is that connexion now broken? A learned gentleman in the law publiſhed an anſwer laſt January, to the miniſter mentioned (p. 353) who tells him plainly, "That a church hath a right, beyond all obligation that human laws can lay

† Preface to his paſtoral care, 1692, p. 12, 13.

lay upon them, to diſmiſs their paſtor when they pleaſe. Churches may adviſe churches, and members may reaſon with members; but to adviſe will always ſuppoſe, that the advice may be accepted or rejected; and ſhould it be rejected, I know not to what earthly tribunal the paſtor, as paſtor, could repair with his complaint againſt his church.—The firſt principle in a religious body is, that they will act according to the dictates of a good conſcience, adviſing, not controuling one another. There is nothing more plain than that when they conſent to do that which their conſciences diſapprove, they do *not act as a religious ſociety**." This is a moſt important truth, but how little is it regarded?

V. CAN the conſcience of any man approve of his taking away the property of another for nothing? or requiring him to do much ſervice for a community, without any ſupport or reward? Chriſt ſays the labourer is worthy of his reward; and his command is, *let him that is taught in the word communicate unto him that teacheth, in all good things. Be not deceived; God is not mocked.* Yet how many are there at this day that make high pretences of regard to a free goſpel, and at the ſame time treat thoſe whom they applaud as true teachers of it worſe than they do their oxen? Not only neglect to communicate good things to them themſelves, but hinder others from doing of it. Such an inſtance has been deſcribed (p. 116.) And there are perſons now in all parts of the land, who are ready to ſpit their venom, and if poſſible to ruin the characters of all teachers who will not either be tyrants or ſlaves; either be confederate in forcing away the property of people for nothing, and worſe than nothing, or elſe ſpend their lives and ſtrength

* Strictures upon Thatcher, by J. S. p. 19, 22.

ſtrength for the good of ſouls, and receive nothing from them but empty words. The great deſign of religion is to make men juſt and merciful; but how oppoſite thereto is it, to ſet a man up in a public and expenſive office, expoſed to the reſentment of earth and hell, and require him to *go this warfare of his own charges!* 1 Cor. ix. 7—14. Can any wonder if a curſe is ſent upon the bleſſings of men who refuſe to lay theſe things to heart? Mal. ii. 2, iii. 9, 10. Truth and love bring teachers and members to act in union, and to regard each others caſe as their own, which a precious number do in our day; but pride and covetouſneſs *cauſeth diviſions and offences*, contrary thereto; and all ſuch are to be *marked and avoided*. Thoſe in general who have made uſe of ſecular force in religious matters have been ſuch *ſchiſmatics* (p. 50) neither can others be free of that guilt, who lay heavy ſervice and burthens upon their officers, and will not touch them with one of their fingers. The time is coming when the vile perſon ſhall no more be called liberal, nor the churl beautiful; *but the liberal deviſeth liberal things, and by liberal things ſhall he ſtand*, Iſai. xxxii. 5—8. Near or quite half of the expence of the ſitting of the Legiſlatures, both of Maſſachuſetts and Connecticut, ever ſince they have ſupported miniſters by tax (except in the late time of war) has been to contrive how to take and give property that they had no more right to meddle with, than they had to appoint ſome men to make a weekly feaſt in each town, and compel all to pay for it, whether they liked it or not; yea, although they diſcovered poiſon therein. For worſe poiſon for bodies was never found upon earth, than a great deal of the teaching thus paid for in our land is to the ſouls of men. The apoſtle ſpeaks

of

of *oppoſitions of ſcience falſly ſo called*, and of thoſe who *hold the truth in unrighteouſneſs*; and perhaps the following are inſtances of it.

VI. That Chriſtianity is eſſentially neceſſary to the good order of civil ſociety, is a certain truth, (p. 331) but men hold it in unrighteouſneſs, when they aſſume a power to *add* to Chriſt's laws about his worſhip. Pretenders to new immediate revelations do this as really as ſtate politicians. Special teachings of the Holy Spirit we all need continually, to give us a right underſtanding of the holy ſcriptures, ſo as to apply and obey them in a right manner; but they are perfect in themſelves, and ſufficient to furniſh the man of God for every good work, when he takes the *apoſtles* as the true expounders of the *prophets*. On this foundation the Chriſtian church was built, Eph. ii. 19, 20. And though *confounding* of them together produced myſtery Babylon, yet when ſhe ſhall be deſtroyed that order will be again obſerved, Rev. xviii. 20. Their writings, with the united church of believing Jews and Gentiles built thereon, appear to be the two witneſſes mentioned in Rev. xi. 3—15. Directly after their reſurrection, the kingdoms of this world will become the kingdom of Chriſt; which undoubtedly intends an entire ſubmiſſion to his laws and government. Reference is there had to Zech. iv. 11—14, which ſpeaks of one candleſtick, of two olive trees, and of *golden oil* communicated into it through them. There was then but one church; but after the partition wall betwixt Jews and Gentiles was broken down, *both* have acceſs by *one ſpirit* unto the Father; which ſpirit is plainly the golden oil communicated to ſouls through the word of truth. This united church is the light of the world, and the pillar and ground

ground of the truth, Mat. v. 14, 1 Tim. iii. 15. The chief disputes in the world have been whether God's revealed mind is strictly *true*? or if true, how it can be *equal*? The apostles and prophets, and all hearty believers of their writings, have ever witnessed for both of these points; but it has long been in sackcloth or mourning. And perhaps when they are killed, and yet the *people* will not permit them to be buried, means when officers become so corrupt that *truth falls in the street, and equity cannot enter*, though the people will not entirely part therewith. Hereupon Jehovah will arise and render *vengeance to his enemies according to their deeds*; yea, *recompence to the islands*. After which the *Redeemer* shall come to Zion, and to them that *turn from transgression in Jacob*; who will be established in a way of *covenant* obedience to the *words of his mouth*, by the influence of his *spirit*. This prophecy the apostle applies to future times, which will be as *life from the dead*, Isai. lix. 14—21, Rom. xi. 15, 26. Again, because it is a most important truth that *God is no respecter of persons*, many deny his right to *do what he will with his own grace*, though in a way of perfect justice. He is perfectly just in all his dispensations, while he *shews mercy to whom he will shew mercy*. And to deny this is to deny him the right which every freeman has with his own property. Oh, madness! It is also an essential truth that God is LOVE in the abstract; but it is a fatal delusion to imagine that he loves every individual sinner, so as not to inflict endless punishment upon such as die in impenitency. The devils are his creatures, and were a higher order of them than men; yet their endless punishment is declared as one evidence against those who turn grace into lasciviousness, Jude 6. Again, Christ's finished atonement is the

object

object of faith, and all our encouragement to come to God by him, is ever to be derived from the record thereof given in the goſpel, which is as true before we believe it as afterwards; but it is a moſt deceitful trick to argue from thence, that the true believer is not conſcious of an inward change in his ſoul, ſo as to be enabled to do ſuch acts as are *well pleaſing to God*, Heb. xiii. 16. When any in Iſrael were bitten with the fiery ſerpents, all hope of life was cut off, but only from an object without and above them, to which each of them muſt look, or death was his portion; yet when he looked, a change was wrought *within him*; the poiſon was expelled, and health recovered; and it would have been a wicked thing in any of them not to have rejoiced, and been thankful therefor. Now Chriſt himſelf explains faith and regeneration hereby, John iii. 14, 15. Yet Robert Sandeman, and James Relly after him, have poiſoned the ſouls of many with artful repreſentations that it is phariſaical pride for any to tell of inward experiences, and to rejoice in what God had done within them. And the latter of them, by deceitfully repreſenting that our own intereſt is part of the firſt object of faith, has carried his argument in many minds, that every individual will finally be ſaved, becauſe if it were not ſo, it could not be a crime not to believe a point which was not true in fact. Whereas in the paſſage that he builds moſt upon, a not believing the *record* as it ſtands in the book is the crime charged; and life is there declared to be *in the Son*, and *given to us*, and alſo that none have life but thoſe who *have that gift*, 1 John v. 10—12, Now compare this with Chriſt's own words concerning the brazen ſerpent, and Relly's argument appears as falſe as it would to have argued, that it could not have been a crime

for

for a poiſoned perſon to refuſe a look to it, unleſs healing was as certainly his before as afterwards: No crime to *make light* of the goſpel call, unleſs the feaſt they are called to is certainly theirs, and they may come to it when they pleaſe; and that God's infinite love obliges him to receive them whenever they ſhall cry for it in good earneſt, Mat. xxii. 1—4. The devil himſelf never preached worſe doctrine than this, yet how many are ſtrongly attached thereto!

VII. ANOTHER eſſential truth of the goſpel is, that we muſt daily deny ourſelves and take up our croſs, or we cannot be Chriſt's diſciples: But this truth has often been held in unrighteouſneſs in every age. The people mentioned p. 209, run to a great length in that way. A man from Charleſtown, near Boſton, was their head, who about 1758 aſſumed God's eſſential prerogatives in ſuch a blaſphemous manner, that he was complained of to authority, upon which he fled, and his followers concealed him for many years, and a houſe was built for that purpoſe in Harvard, where they privately reſorted to him, who declared himſelf to be perfect and immortal, until death arreſted him, and he was buried with great ſecreſy. Since which the ſame houſe in Harvard has been made the head-quarters of a ſmall company from Britain, who have a woman for their head. They privately got together in the county of Albany, and formed their ſcheme; and then in April, 1780, it was ſuddenly proclaimed, that a new diſpenſation was begun, greater than had ever been known in the world before, which all were called to enter into, or they could not be ſaved. A Pedobaptiſt miniſter in New-Lebanon, and a Baptiſt miniſter in Pittsfield, fell into the ſnare; and many hundreds were drawn into it, in various parts of

Maſſachuſetts, New-Hampſhire and Connecticut. The ſaid Baptiſt miniſter in Pittsfield, after being a few months with them, was delivered from that deluſion, and publiſhed an account of their ſcheme, which was printed at Hartford, Norwich, Providence and Boſton. I was at his houſe in June, 1782, and went with him to viſit a conſiderable number of them. They earneſtly inculcate that doctrine of devils of *forbidding to marry*, and require ſo much *bodily exerciſe*, in ſinging and dancing, &c. as has deſtroyed the health and even the lives of ſome; a cruel croſs indeed! while their chief leaders delight themſelves much in feaſting and drinking ſpirituous liquor. I would by no means miſrepreſent any of their ſentiments or conduct; but I have obtained moſt certain evidence that theſe ſeven abominations conſtitute the eſſence of their ſcheme. 1. They hold an earthly head to their church. 2. That out of it is no ſalvation. 3. That the only way into it is by confeſſing even ſecret ſins to them. 4. That when any have ſo done, they muſt believe as the church believes, and do as they ſay. 5. They teach *do and live*. 6. Their doings are unnatural and violent. 7. They endeavour to enforce and propagate their ſcheme with a ſtrange *power, ſigns and lying wonders*. Some of them at Norton and elſewhere have carried matters ſo far this year, as for men and women to dance together entirely naked, to imitate the primitive ſtate of perfection. And their forcibly ſtripping a woman of one of their families, who teſtified againſt their wickedneſs, has moved the authority of Briſtol county lately to take them in hand therefor. Forbidding men and their wives to lodge together is a point they are ſtrenuous upon. But a number who were with them have renounced their deluſions, and their party is evidently

evidently on the decline. And ſo is that of another company, of whom take the following conciſe account. Jemima Wilkinſon, born among the Quakers in Cumberland, in the county of Providence, being a young woman of a retentive memory, and an eloquent tongue, declares that in October, 1776, ſhe was not only taken ſick but actually died, and her ſoul went to heaven; ſoon after which, ſhe ſays, her body was re-animated by the ſpirit and power of Chriſt; upon which ſhe ſet out as a public teacher, and for a while had large aſſemblies to hear her in various parts of the county of Briſtol, and from thence weſtward to New-London. Indeed ſhe has travelled as far as Boſton on one hand, and Philadelphia on the other; but her chief followers were within the above limits. A young man, who was an intimate counſellor of hers for ſome years, gives the following account of her, and of how he and other people were enſnared by her. He firſt heard her at Tiverton, in 1778, and ſays he, "The firſt appearance ſeemed to be ſomething ſingular and extraordinary, in a habit different from what is common amongſt women, wearing her hair curled in her neck, without any other covering on her head, except when ſhe travelled out ſhe put on a hat much like a man's, only with the brim down. Her viſage a good deal bright, with a very agreeable countenance; her voice very grum and ſhrill for a woman, and ſeemed pathetical and engaging in her diſcourſe, in which were abundance of ſcripture expreſſions, though not much explained, or light held up from them; neither did I ever hear her advance much ſcripture doctrine of the principles of religion, but her exhortation ſeemed to be very affecting, ſhewing a very ſedate countenance with ſerioufneſs and ſolemnity, admoniſhing all to repent and

and forſake evil, and learn to do well, and live as they would wiſh to die.—And as the ſtate of mankind at this day is much like the Athenians, that ſpent their time in nothing elſe but either to hear or tell ſome new thing, her coming forth as a preacher different from all other ſects or denominations of people, being a woman of extraordinary natural abilities, ſpeaking as an orator, of a great memory in the ſcriptures, and having abundance of ſtrange reports ſpread abroad concerning her, ſome falſe and ſome true, produce abundance of ſpectators and enquirers. And ſhe appears zealouſly engaged, and ſays ſhe devotes herſelf and ſervice wholly to the glory of God, and the good of ſouls. She exhorts people in a pathetical manner, with great confidence and boldneſs; and ſays ſhe has an immediate revelation for all ſhe delivers; that ſhe is the greateſt miniſter that God has ſent to the people theſe ſeventeen hundred and odd years; and advancing herſelf to live as ſhe exhorts others to, fully in a ſtate of perfection, with no liability of error or defect in any reſpect, ſeems to have great influence upon many ſerious people; for no one would rationally think that a perſon in their right ſenſes would dare to hold forth and affirm ſuch great and exalted things concerning themſelves, unleſs it were ſo in reality*." This is a brief view of the ſubſtance of his account of her way of proceeding, which brought a number of ignorant people, and ſome who have been officers in the State, to follow and cleave to her affectionately, as a perſon inveſted with immediate and great power from above, even power to work miracles. But her influence has not been half ſo great and extenſive as that of the other

* Brownell upon enthuſiaſtical errors, 1783, p. 5—7.

other woman mentioned, both of whoſe ſchemes are now dying away.

VIII. And thus I have pointed out ſome of the ways wherein men have gone a *whoring with their own inventions* (Pſal. cvi. 39) which is fixing their affections and dependence thereon, inſtead of the God of truth. And though it is a maxim with earthly politicians, that their King can do no wrong, thereby imputing all that is wrong to others, yet they have long taken the oppoſite courſe concerning the kingdom of Chriſt. All the frauds, oppreſſions and licentiouſneſs, that have been practiſed under his name, have been caſt upon Chriſtianity itſelf; as if becauſe men are falſe, therefore God is not true. Inſtead of owning his juſt authority, they have exalted themſelves above him, and have arraigned *his ſayings* at their bar, Rom. iii. 4. What he ſays concerning the entire depravity of man, and their enmity of heart againſt God, they make a chief argument againſt the truth of his ſayings in his written word; and thus they plainly confirm the truth of it, by their arguments againſt it. And becauſe errors and hereſies more openly break out, where he has poured out his ſpirit, than where people like Moab are ſettled upon their lees, many conclude that it was not his ſpirit that moved upon the minds of the people; which argument is about as concluſive as it would be to ſay, that the influences of the ſun are not really good in the ſpring and ſummer, becauſe they cauſe a very diſagreeable ſtench to ariſe from dunghills and dead carcaſſes, which we do not ſmell when the ſun is at a great diſtance, and theſe things are hard frozen in the winter; or to ſay that the ſhowers of heaven are not good, becauſe they make the thorns to grow as well as the wheat. Theſe reaſoners often

often declare, that if we are entirely dependent upon the ſovereign will of God, for renewing and ſaving grace, then all our uſe of means to attain ſalvation is in vain; but why do they uſe means for their bodies? *If the Lord will, we ſhall live, and do this or that.* Who were they that ſaid a few years ago, "*We will bring* America to our feet!—We *will* not receive law from any power whatever!" Where is the Governor who required us to ſubmit to an *abſolute* and *unlimited power* in man! (Page 289, 290, 364.) God's plan of government is abſolutely perfect and immutable; and he has appointed the means and the end, and the means in order to the end, in the moral as well as natural world. The means of grace are calculated in infinite wiſdom to open the eyes of men, and to turn them from darkneſs to light, and from the power of Satan unto God. Precepts and promiſes, rewards and puniſhments, calls and warnings, are all motives to influence the choice of man. And the ſtrongeſt hold that the devil has in this world is to perſuade man, that a being governed in his choice by motives without himſelf, is inconſiſtent with the liberty of moral agents; and to perſuade him at the ſame time that neceſſity obliges God to pardon and ſave them, whenever they ſhall become ſincere penitents. Thus they aſſume a ſovereignty to themſelves, which they deny to their MAKER; and treat him as a *ſervant*, to whom they may ſay, *go thy way for this time, and when I have a convenient ſeaſon I will call for thee*; making his choice dependent upon theirs. If motives without us do not determine our choice, it would be impoſſible for God to govern us; and, as the excellent Edwards obſerves, Arminian principles truly involve in their nature the horrid blaſphemy

my which they falſly caſt upon the Calviniſts, of charging God with acting a deceitful part towards men, in appointing the means of grace; for theſe are motives to determine their choice on the ſide of virtue, which he could not be ſincere in appointing, if their choice is not determined by motives without themſelves*. His immutable deſigns are ſo far from interfering with the liberty of moral agents, that where they are known, the believer dare not make them the rule of his conduct; and hereby ſubjects and rebels are diſtinguiſhed. An expreſs precept required Saul to deſtroy Agag, as well as the reſt of the Amalakites; and by diſobedience thereto he loſt his kingdom and his ſoul. On the other hand, David knew that God deſigned to remove Saul, yet having no precept to kill him, he refuſed to do it, though much provoked thereto, when he had very convenient opportunities to cut him off. And though the prophet Samuel, by immediate direction from above, anointed David to be king over Iſrael, yet he never aſſumed that power but by their free choice and covenant; and when this was done by part of them, he made no uſe of their arms to compel others to receive him. And when ten tribes revolted from his grandſon, who collected an army to bring them under him again, God warned him not to do it, and was obeyed therein. And if a *power of will* oppoſite to the bible had not been dreadfully ſet up in latter ages, myſtery Babylon would not have been drunken with blood as ſhe now is. A revelation to the Jews of God's deſign, that Jeſus ſhould die for that nation, did not at all leſſen the guilt of thoſe who thereupon *took counſel together for to put him to death*, John xi. 51—53. Obedience to

* Edwards on the will, p. 266, third edition.

to what he requires of us, is the meaſure of our duty and felicity, without attempting to get into the place of the univerſal Ruler. At the ſame time no honeſt ſoul could be happy under his government, if they thought it poſſible for men or devils to deceive him, and to defeat his deſigns. And whether the whole hiſtory of this country, as well as others, does not demonſtrate, that a hearty and unfeigned obedience to his revealed will is our wiſdom as well as duty, and that all diſobedience thereto is infinitely hateful and dreadful, is now freely referred to the reader's conſcience.

CHAP. XXIII.

1. The Nature of Covenants explained. 2. The Sentiments of the Baptiſt Churches about Terms of Communion, the Power of Councils, and the Nature and Place of human Learning. 3. A Liſt of their Churches in New-England.

I. THE word covenant, when uſed concerning contracts between man and man, includes many ideas that can have no place in the affairs betwixt the creature and his Creator; and ſo much darkneſs has appeared in controverſies upon this ſubject, that ſome worthy men have thought it beſt to adopt the word teſtament inſtead of covenant in the latter caſe. But a review muſt convince us that we

we cannot get free of difficulties by this change of words; becauſe teſtament, when uſed about a father's will who is abſent from us, is eſſentially different from the will of God, who is ever preſent, and ſees our inmoſt thoughts. Yet teſtament ever means the will of the teſtator expreſſed, and alſo a free diſpoſal of his property as he pleaſeth; which, when well ratified, is as good a title as any in the world, although it would ſpoil it for the legatees to have any hand in forming it. And mutual conſent, with mutual obligations and privileges, are eſſential ideas in all covenants. *This do, and thou ſhalt live*, was the language of God to Adam in innocency, with which his heart concurred; and this obligation to love is immutably binding upon all his children, Luke x. 27, 28. To withhold this obedience is to rob both God and man of their right; and God juſtly requires every ſinner to *give again that he had robbed, and to walk in the ſtatutes of life without committing iniquity*. And the new covenant is the writing the law of love in the believer's heart, which yields a free conſent to it, in the tenor of *I will, and they ſhall*, Ezek. xxxiii. 15, Rom. viii. 3, 4, Heb. viii. 10, 11. All who have this work wrought within them ought to confeſs the ſame *with their mouths*, and to receive each other as Chriſt received them, to the glory of God. Says the apoſtle, they *firſt gave their own ſelves to the Lord, and unto us by the will of God*, Rom. x. 10, xv. 7, 2 Cor. viii. 5. This is the exact nature of a church covenant; which ſhews that no perſon can be brought into it without his own conſent, that the covenant cannot bind any perſon or community to act any thing contrary to the revealed *will of God*, nor ever exempt any from their obligation to act agreeable thereto with all their hearts.

II. Great imperfections ſtill remain among us in theſe reſpects; yet it is thought beſt to exhibit to the world a liſt of the churches in New-England who profeſs theſe principles, at leaſt ſo far as not to allow that perſons can be forced into religious covenants. A few of them admit ſome Pedobaptiſts to their communion, and it is but a few; neither can that practice laſt long, as our opponents know that practice ſpeaks louder than words; and a noted miniſter and church in the county of Plymouth openly debarred one of their pious members from their communion laſt year, for no other crime than a *being buried in baptiſm*; by which act ſay they, "She has practically declared infant baptiſm a nullity, and this church to be a company of unbaptized perſons." And the Separate churches in Connecticut publiſhed their terms of communion three years ago, which were theſe, viz. "As to our Baptiſt brethren, we are free to hold occaſional communion with ſuch as are regular churches, and make the Chriſtian profeſſion as aboveſaid, and *acknowledge us to be baptized churches*," &c*. Hereby they confirm our terms of communion, as deſcribed (p. 214, 215.) Our ſentiments concerning the uſe and power of Councils are the ſame as thoſe deſcribed by our fathers (p. 39, 40) and we refuſe to hear any complaints of cenſured perſons in our annual Aſſociations, becauſe that would imply juriſdiction over the churches, which we diſclaim; and we hold that a Council freely choſen, and meeting near the place of difficulty or grievance, where a fair hearing of the parties concerned may be had, is the moſt rational and ſcriptural method of proceeding in ſuch caſes.

* Declaration of ſaid churches, met at Killingly, September 19, 1781, p. 21.

caſes. Our ſentiments about the nature and proper place of human learning are well expreſſed (p. 55.) Confining the miniſtry to an education at college, as well as compelling people to ſupport ſuch, have produced infinite miſchiefs in all ages, which could never have prevailed as they have, if cruel arts had not been made uſe of to keep the people in ignorance, and to prejudice their minds againſt true knowledge, both ſacred and civil. The foundation for learning laid at Providence (mentioned p. 235) has ſuffered much in the late war, but the ſchool appears now again in a promiſing way. All other colleges have been very expenſive to governments, but this has never received any thing in that way (no not to repair damages which government has occaſioned therein) but perſonal generoſity laid its foundation, and has been its ſupport hitherto. Gentlemen of various denominations, chiefly in the town of Providence, ſubſcribed above Four Thouſand Pounds therefor before the college edifice was erected in that town; and conſiderable ſums have been given ſince, eſpecially in the year paſt, to augment their library. And as liberal ſentiments are taught therein, and all denominations, whoſe civil and moral conduct is agreeable, have equal privileges for learning in it, liberal communications are earneſtly ſollicited for the neceſſary ſupport of this inſtitution.

III. *A brief View of the preſent State of the Baptiſt Churches in New-England, according to the lateſt and beſt Accounts that have been received.*

[The firſt Column contains the Year when each Church was conſtituted, the ſecond the Name of the Town, the third their Miniſter's Name, if they have any, and the fourth the Number of their Members, if that is known.]

In the MASSACHUSETTS.

County of Suffolk.

Year.	*Town.*	*Miniſters.*	No.
1665	Boſton	Samuel Stillman, A.M.	158
1743		Iſaac Skillman, A. M.	43
1750	Bellingham	Noah Alden	56
1769	Wrentham	William Williams, A.M.	39
1776	Medfield	Thomas Gair, A. M.	72
1780	Needham	Noah Baker	
1780	Stoughton	Vacant	

County of Briſtol.

1663	Swanzey	Charles Thompſon, A.M.	
1693		Ruſſel Maſon	
1753	Rehoboth	Nathan Peirce	
1762		John Hicks	100
1772		Jacob Hicks	
1777		James Sheldon	48
1780		Vacant	
1761	Taunton	William Nelſon, A. M.	79
1769	Attleborough	Job Seamans	80
1781		Eliſha Carpenter	59
1772	Dighton	Enoch Goff	120
1774	Freetown	Abner Lewis	95
1781		David Seamans	50
1774	Dartmouth	Vacant	19
1781		Daniel Hicks	
1780	Raynham	Vacant	35

County

County of Plymouth.

Year.	*Town.*	*Miniſters.*	No.
1756	Middleborough	Iſaac Backus	137
1757		Ebenezer Hinds	70
1761		Aſa Hunt	194

County of Eſſex.

1765	Haverhill	Hezekiah Smith, A. M.	190

County of Middleſex.

1771	Chelmsford	Abiſhai Croſman	87
1780	Newton	Caleb Blood	79
1781	Cambridge	Thomas Green	27

Dukes County.

	Chilmark	Silas Paul	
1780	Tiſbury	Vacant	79

County of Worceſter.

1738	Leiceſter	Vacant	70
1749	Sturbridge	Jordan Dodge	53
1762	Charlton	Nathaniel Green	155
1765	Sutton	Ebenezer Lamſon	78
1767	Grafton	Elkanah Ingalls	38
1768	Peterſham	Vacant	
1770	Royalſton	Whitman Jacobs	89
1774	Douglaſs	Vacant	
1775	Dudley	Vacant	33
1776	Harvard	Iſaiah Parker	110
1779	Aſhburnham	Vacant	37
1780	Northbridge	Vacant	25
1782	Templeton	John Sellon	23

County of Hampſhire.

1736	South-Brimfield	Elijah Codding	236
1740	Weſt-Springfield	Edward Upham, A M.	
1761	Aſhfield	Ebenezer Smith	90
1762	Granby	James Smith	
1765	Montague	Vacant	32

Year.	*Town.*	*Miniſters.*	No.
1768	Wilbraham	Seth Clark	159
1772	New-Salem	Samuel Bigelow	35
1780	Shuteſbury	William Ewing	
1780	Colerain	Vacant	56
1780	Bernardſton	Joſeph Green	50
1780	Cheſterfield	Vacant	
	County of Berkſhire.		
1769	Adams	Peter Werden	133
1771	Laneſborough	Nathan Maſon	150
1772	Pittsfield	Valentine Rathbun	15
1772	Hancock	Clark Rogers	85
1777	Waſhington	Vacant	
1779	Sandisfield	Joſhua Morſe	30
	Alford	Jacob Drake	
1781	W. Stockbridge	Elnathan Wilcox	15
	County of York.		
1768	Berwick	William Hooper	53
1772	Sanford	Vacant	
	Wells	Nathaniel Lord	56
1782	Coxhall	Simon Lock	32
	County of Cumberland.		
1768	Goreham	Vacant	
1782	N. Glouceſter	Vacant	
	County of Lincoln.		
1784	Bowdinham	Job Macomber	27
1784	Thomaſton	Iſaac Caſe	50
	State of NEW-HAMPSHIRE.		
1755	Newton	Vacant	
1770	Richmond	Matturean Bellou	122
1771	Lebanon	Vacant	12
1771	Weſtmoreland	Ebenezer Baily	
1771	Brentwood	Samuel Shepard	156
1771	Deerfield	Elipheleth Smith	

1772

Year.	*Town.*	*Miniſters.*	No.
1772	Gilmanton	Vacant	30
1777	Marlow	Eleazer Beckwith	
1778	Croydon	Vacant	22
1779	Canterbury	Vacant	
1780		Vacant	
1780	Northwood	Edmund Pilſbury	44
1780	Salem	Samuel Fletcher	60
1780	Rumney	——— Hains	
1780	Holderneſs	Vacant	
1780	Meredith	Nicholas Folſom	
1780	Chicheſter	Vacant	
1780	Barrington	Vacant	
1780	Hubbardſton	Vacant	
1782	New-Hampton	Jeremiah Ward	
1782	Perryſton	Samuel Ambroſe	
1782	Temple	Vacant	
1782	Savil	Vacant	12
1783	Weare	Vacant	
1783	Canaan	Thomas Baldwin	18

State of CONNECTICUT.

County of Hartford.

1739	Southington	Vacant	18
1743	Colcheſter	Vacant	
1755	Stafford	Vacant	
1760	Enfield	Vacant	
1775	Suffield	John Haſtings	
1780	Coventry	Vacant	
	Farmington	John Davis	
1783	Chatham	Solomon Wheat	

County of Fairfield.

1751	Stratfield	Seth Higbie	
1773	Stamford	Elkanah Holmes	
1773	Greenwich	Vacant	

County

County of New-London.

Year.	*Town.*	*Miniſters.*	No.
1705	Groton	Timothy Wightman	
		Silas Burris	
1775		Rufus Allen	
	Stonington	Eleazer Brown	
1765		Simeon Brown	
1775	StoningtonPoint	Vacant	
	New-London	Zadock Darrah	
	Saybrook	Elipheleth Leſter	
	Lyme	Jaſon Lee	
1782	Norwich	Chriſtopher Palmer	

County of Windham.

1750	Killingly,	John Martin	
1776		Vacant	59
1766	Woodſtock	Biel Ledoyt	143
1776	Pomfret	Vacant	
1774	Aſhford	Vacant	
1779		John Rathbun	
1780	Willington	David Lillebridge	
1780	Mansfield	Vacant	

State of RHODE-ISLAND.

County of Newport.

1644	Newport	Eraſmus Kelly, A. M.	25
1656		Gardner Thurſton	230
1671		William Bliſs	39
1685	Tiverton	Peleg Burroughs	134

County of Providence.

1639	Providence	James Manning, A. M.	127
	Scituate	Reuben Hopkins	
	Smithfield	John Winſor	
	Cumberland	Abner Bellou	
	Glouceſter	Joſeph Winſor	79
	N. Providence	Rufus Tift	

Year.	*Town.*	*Miniſters.*	No.
1771	Johnſton	Samuel Winſor	
	Foſter	Nathan Young	
		County of Waſhington.	
1708	Hopkinton	Joſhua Clarke	
1750	Weſterly	Vacant	
		Joſiah Wilcox	
	Charleſtown	Samuel Niles	
	S. Kingſtown	Benjamin Wait	
		Vacant	
1710	N. Kingſtown	Nathan Hill	
		Philip Jenckins	
		William Northup	
1750	Exeter	Solomon Sprague	
1772	Richmond	Thomas Weſt	
		Vacant	
		County of Kent.	
	Warwick	Abraham Lippet	
1743	Eaſt-Greenwich	John Gorton	
	Coventry	Thomas Mancheſter	
		Caleb Nichols	300
	Weſt-Greenwich	Eliſha Greene	
		County of Briſtol.	
1764	Warren	Vacant	

The following churches were omitted in their proper place.

Year.	*Town.*	*Miniſters.*	No.
1757	Harwich	Vacant	43
1781		Samuel Nickerſon	
1771	Barnſtable	Vacant	41
1781	Freetown	Vacant	
		Total number	4,783

Having had ſeveral Interviews with divers of the People called Quakers, on the Subject of the firſt Volume of my Hiſtory, and finding I have not clearly expreſſed their Sentiments and Practices, and ſome Facts appearing to me different from what they did when I wrote, I am deſirous, with them, to have the Hiſtory corrected, and Matters put in ſuch a Light, that Poſterity may not miſapprehend them: Let the Reader therefore receive the following Correction, as what appears to me moſt conſiſtent with the Truth, and in Juſtice to that People ought to be tranſmitted to Poſterity.

IN page 141, *the following extract from John Tyſſo's letter,* "*There was nothing* IN *him (i. e. Dr. Increaſe Mather, as he ſaid) that he hoped to be ſaved by,*" *having been made by me to manifeſt an error in Friends reſpecting Chriſt within; I would obſerve, that I do not look upon it as an error, provided Chriſt without be alſo acknowledged, and it be held agreeable to the true ſenſe of John* vi. 56, xvii. 26, 1 *John* iii. 24, *in which ſenſe I am informed it is held by Friends.*

In page 143, 144, *I have quoted ſome of Roger Williams's arguments againſt Friends ſentiments of the* grace of God having appeared, or being manifeſted to all mankind univerſally; *for their anſwer to which arguments, I would refer to Fox, &c. anſwer, page* 17—20, 2*d part.*

In page 307, *I mentioned that* Quakers *were ſo called from Fox and his companions trembling and quaking before* Gervaſe Bennet, a Juſtice in Derby. *I meant not to inſinuate, that their trembling on that occaſion, or others, was occaſioned by the fear of man; neither do I on a review of proofs find ſufficient grounds to reject Fox's account of their receiving ſaid name, which follows in the ſame page; though it is allowed by Barclay,*

ridge, as well as Mosheim, that their quaking and trembling in other places occasioned their being commonly called by that name.

In page 321, I undertake to inform posterity how those Quakers behaved under their sufferings; upon a review of which it appears just to add, that I said, and that by other parts of Cudworth's uncontroverted letter, not quoted by me, that he was turned out of office, as he expressly says, "Because I had entertained some of the Quakers at my house, that thereby I might be the better acquainted with their principles; the Court professing they had nothing at all against me, only in that thing, of giving entertainment to the Quakers." And he informs us, "That when the Quakers were committed to prison, they must be kept on coarse bread and water, no Friend may bring them any thing, none permitted to speak with them, nay, if they have money of their own, they may not make use of that to relieve themselves; they have many adherents, and a little to acquaint you with their sufferings, which is grievous unto and saddens the hearts of most of the precious saints of God; it lies down and rises up with them, and they cannot put it out of their minds, to see and hear of poor families deprived of their comforts, and brought into penury and want. As far as I am able to judge of the end, it is to force them from their homes and lawful habitations, and to drive them out of their coasts.—As for the means by which they are impoverished, these in the first place were scrupulous of an oath." This does not appear to be confined to allegiance or fidelity to government, but oaths at large, which principle I understand they maintain from our Saviour's command, Mat. v. 34, I say unto you swear not at all, &c. "Why then we must put in force an old law, that all may take the oath of fidelity; —they cannot—then a fine of Five Pounds. On this account thirty-five head of cattle, as I am credibly informed, hath been by the authority of the Court taken

from

from them the latter part of this ſummer. A poor weaver that has ſeven or eight ſmall children, himſelf lame in his body, had but two cows, and both taken from him: The Marſhal aſked him what he would do? The man ſaid, that God, who gave him them, he doubted not would ſtill provide for him. *To fill up the meaſure yet more full, though to the further emptying of Sandwich men, the Court of Aſſiſtants, the firſt Tueſday of this inſtant, was pleaſed to determine fines upon them for meetings, One Hundred and Fifty Pounds, and among others the poor weaver ſpoken of Twenty Pounds, &c." And after his mentioning their not ſuffering their friends of Rhode-Iſland to come and trade with them, proceeds, "So that unleſs the Lord ſteps in to their help and aſſiſtance, in ſome way beyond man's conceiving, their caſe is ſad and to be pitied, and truly it moves bowels of compaſſion in all ſorts except* thoſe in place, who carry it with a high hand towards them. *Our bench now is Thomas Prince, Governor, &c." See the letter in Biſhop's hiſtory, from page 168—177, or more at large in the ſecond volume, folio, of the book of ſufferings of the Quakers, from page 191—195, which laſt I did not ſee till ſince the publication of the firſt volume of my hiſtory.*

From the foregoing account, and what Biſhop charges upon Governor Prince, viz. "That in thy conſcience they were ſuch a people as deſerved to be deſtroyed, they, their wives, their children, their houſes and lands, without pity or mercy:" Which ſentiment of his againſt the Quakers, I am told, is remembered in the family, being handed down to thoſe of his poſterity now living. —It muſt therefore be acknowledged, he muſt have had too great a ſhare in the perſecutions mentioned. And as the perſecuted Norton ſaid, the ſtrength of darkneſs *muſt then have been too unhappily over him. And in juſtice to Humphry Norton's character (which is underſtood to be leſſened by my manner of inſerting his letter,*

ter, and treating this ſubject, in page 322 of my hiſtory) I think further to manifeſt his and J. Rouſe's behaviour under their ſufferings, by inſerting a paragraph in Biſhop's hiſtory, page 179, which would render my account more intelligible and full. Speaking of the number of laſhes, which I mentioned, he adds, "Which as it drew ſtore of blood, ſo it took much with the ſpectators, who beheld them in the ſtocks firſt praying, then ſaluting each other, and bidding the executioner have patience a little (when he came to take off their cloaths) and he ſhould ſee they could give their backs to the ſmiters." And Biſhop adds, that "They gave in a paper aſſigning the grounds and reaſons of their returning, when they were demanded wherefore they came in, which the magiſtrates would not ſuffer to be read; *and ſo envious were they, that for taking John Rouſe by the hand they put three of the inhabitants of Sandwich in the ſtocks." And it appearing by the ſaid Biſhop's hiſtory, and the book of Friends ſufferings, that other whippings and perſecutions followed in Plymouth Colony, and that the ſaid Humphry Norton, under whippings and other perſecutions at New-Haven, appears to have behaved in a Chriſtian temper, when being looſed from the ſtocks after being whipped, having a great iron key tyed athwart his mouth, and burnt deep in his hand with a red hot iron, "He kneeled down and prayed to the Lord, uttering his voice towards heaven, to the aſtoniſhment of them all."—The reader is referred thereto for a more particular account.*

In page 323, I interpreted the figurative expreſſions of "Rending the rocks of wiſdom and knowledge, and exalting that which is low," as directed againſt civil and eccleſiaſtical government, which I ſuppoſed they meant to ſubject to a ſuppoſed ſpiritual power in Chriſtians without outward laws and rules: But on further enquiry and converſation with Friends, I am convinced they thereby referred to the coming of the Lord, by his

ſpiritual

ſpiritual work, to level the wiſe and great, compared to mountains; and the literal knowledge and meer ſcolaſtic divinity, compared to racks, as being hard to penetrate and break; for that which is meek and low to be exalted, even Chriſt within the hope of glory.——In which ſenſe I perceive that paſſage is now underſtood by Friends.

In the ſame page I obſerved, on ſome preceding extracts from Fox's and Williams's writings, "This opens the plain cauſe why they (the Quakers) militated ſo hard againſt other magiſtrates and government." And in the form of an allegory, in page 507, it is ſaid, "To whom others made fierce oppoſition profeſſedly from the light within; and their claſhings were ſo great that ſeveral lives were loſt in the fray." The terms militate, fierce oppoſition and claſhing *to the loſs of lives, uſed to repreſent the conduct of Friends in thoſe days, in reſpect to civil government, are too harſh to be juſtified by any authenticated facts.—I conceive it to be eſſential to civil government, that the magiſtrate have a power to inflict corporal puniſhments, and alſo to arm his ſubjects to war againſt invaders of their rights, and therefore that the teaching of a contrary doctrine in either of theſe points, ſo far as it has influence, tends to obſtruct or pull down government; and in no other ſenſe did I ever mean to charge the Quakers with militating againſt or obſtructing government.*

I find they allow magiſtrates to inflict corporal puniſhments upon their ſubjects, who tranſgreſs the rules of equity; but do not approve of arming their ſubjects to war againſt others. And in all States where they have been, I know nothing but that, as a ſociety, they have been either actively obedient thereto, or have paſſively ſuffered what they were pleaſed to inflict upon them, without plotting againſt the government thereof,*

or

* See Fox's epiſtle to Friends at Nevis, in 1675. Alſo, Iſaac Pennington's works, folio, firſt part, page 323.

or using any forcible reſiſtance againſt it. And I deſire the reader to remember that I mean to correct every thing in my hiſtory that ſeemingly or really contradicts theſe ideas, and this character of the ſociety.

In page 324, I ſpeak of our Lord's direction to his diſciples, Mat. x. 23, and of his own conduct towards the Gergeſenes, Mat. viii. 34, as forming a general rule for us, thence charging ſome blame upon thoſe Quakers who returned into the Maſſachuſetts; whereas they now both appear to me to refer to ſpecial and petuliar caſes.

As to the writings I referred to at the top of page 327, I rather think my memory failed me in that reſpect; and as to not having light from ſcripture, for actions, in the ſame page, I find that they ſuppoſe that Iſaiah xx. 2, and Micah i. 8, prove, that the women there mentioned might be moved by the divine ſpirit to do thoſe actions; of which the reader is left to judge for himſelf.

Upon a review of page 325 and 462, compared with their own writings, I find that I had ſome miſtaken ideas of what they held concerning the light within, and therefore freely refer the reader to their own authors for information in that reſpect.

I did not mean, in page 462, to charge them with calling darkneſs light, any further than wherein they appeared to be againſt allowing others the free liberty of examining, and by arguments oppoſing ſentiments which they judged to be erroneous; which, whether they were againſt or not, I freely ſubmit to the reader's judgment.

William Harris is referred to at the bottom of page 152, and in page 457 is named as a Quaker; I am now convinced that he was not one then, if he ever was; and the word only, as I twice uſed it in page 469, and once in page 472, in a way that ſeems to acquit Mr. Williams from any blame in his diſpute with the Quakers, was more than I intended; for I

really

really think there was a great deal of imperfection diſcovered by him, as well as his opponents, in the management of that diſpute; and if he meant to puniſh any meerly for their plain uſe of thee and thou (which I think he did not) I do not concur with any ſuch thing.

In page 463, I have not ſo fully quoted Friends anſwer to Roger Williams's objections as might be neceſſary to give an adequate view of both ſides of the diſpute; therefore I refer my reader to their writings on that ſubject, particularly George Fox's anſwer to ſaid objections, page 155, and appendix, 117, 118.

Page 470, line 32, after the word ſentence, *inſert,* viz. blood will be given, *which words are particularly marked, as referred to by Grove.*

As by the grapes of Sodom and cluſters of Gomorrah, in page 460, ſome might ſuppoſe I meant to charge the vices, that are couched under thoſe expreſſions, upon the Quakers; I here declare that I meant no ſuch thing.

Perhaps the partiality, in favour of Mr. Cotton, which I mention in page 471, was owing to Mr. Coddington's particular affection for him, rather than to the cauſe there aſſigned.

FINIS.

MUSEUM BRITANNICUM

ERRATA.

Page 32, line 23, read 1707. P. 65, l. 3, r. *eighty*. P. 99, l. 30, r. *Burton, Eſq*; P. 170, l. 21, for him, r. *them*. P. 237, margin, r. *ſober-mindedneſs*. P. 240, l. 10, r. *to prevent*. P. 264, l. 12, for him, r. *time*. P. 298, l. 12, r. *Colonies*. P. 354, l. 4, r. *country*. P. 359, l. 11, r. *ſpiritual*. P. 379, l. 26, r. 1758. Page 405, l. 22, r. bountiful.